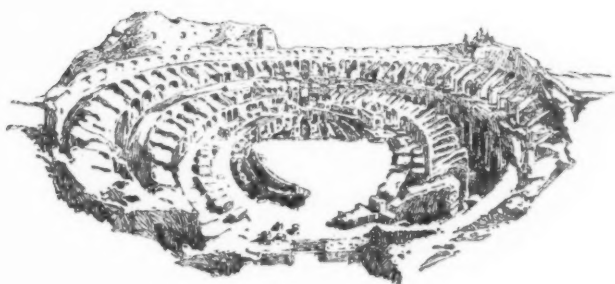


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CLASSICAL JOURNAL



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Trends and Events

Edited by Dorrance S. White

The editor of this column takes pleasure in offering for enjoyable reading:

THE RETURN OF A PRODIGAL

THE SUBJECT OF THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE is myself. I would apologize for this, if I did not hope that there might be some profit and interest in the story of my experiences, not because they are mine, but because they are those of a student and teacher of languages in a rather troubled period of language study. Perhaps too there lurks in the back of my mind the hope that I may be able to show that, in a somewhat erratic career, I was really impelled by a single urge toward a single goal.

I call myself a prodigal. Why is that? Because about two years ago, after devoting some of the best years of my life to the teaching of the Romance Languages, I returned to the Classical Languages, for which I had originally prepared myself. I left the Classical fold at the end of the First World War; I returned to it at the end of the Second. Is it not possible that my experiences will be found typical of many a student whose schooling began toward the turn of the century and whose most active period lay between the two great struggles? Let me tell the story, and let us see what conclusions may be drawn.

As I wrote in a previous article, I loved our English poets, particularly those who had felt the Classical influence, Milton, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Walter Savage Landor, Matthew Arnold, the Tennyson who wrote *Tithonus* and *Ulysses*, the Browning who wrote *Balaustion's Adventure* and Swinburne. I had, however, a second point of departure. I entertained for a time a desire to become a minister. I knew that Greek would be useful to me in the Seminary.

I went to high school, to such a high school as it was then possible to go, one that gave me four years of Latin and three years of Greek. My teachers were excellent, particularly my teacher of Greek, with whom I also studied Vergil. He was a Harvard graduate who might have gone farther in scholarship, had it not been for ill health. Homer was the high spot of my high school years, but I had a second satisfaction, obtained in the privacy of my own home. My mother bought me a Greek testament, which I read by myself. Homer and the New Testament

became the basis of all my future studies in the ancient languages.

I went to college, a college well-known for its Classical tradition. Every student took a year of Latin and so many studied Greek that it was possible to form an honor division in the second semester. In a four-year course I had a very complete review of Greek literature. Greek tragedy and the Greek lyric poets were joined to Homer as the lode-stars of my inspiration, while I found great pleasure in such prose authors as Plato, Herodotus and Thucydides. My review of Latin literature was less complete; but I conceived a particular fondness for Catullus, Horace and Vergil.

While in high school I had no contact with modern languages before the last few weeks when, discovering I had to have a foreign language for entrance requirement at college, I was tutored in French. I had two years of French in college and progressed to a point where I was able to read with pleasure by myself such authors as Chateaubriand, Anatole France and Loti. I also had two years of German and enjoyed reading in class Schiller and some of the minor German novelists. Since French was easier for me, I read more of it. My contacts, however, were closer with professors of the German Department. My Classical professors had had a German training. It was, therefore, natural, on planning a summer in Europe, on my way to the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, after graduating, that I should decide to spend the greater part of my time in German-speaking countries. I enjoyed brief stays in England, France and Switzerland; but the high spot of the summer was my stay in Munich. The year was 1913. It was the last year of that old Europe of kings and princes that the First World War was to destroy. I loved the city that King Ludwig had embellished with so many attractive buildings; I studied Greek vases in the *Alte Pinacotek*; I read and talked a certain amount of German. If I had then been called upon to choose among the cultures of Northern Europe, my choice would have fallen on Germany.

I went on for a brief stay in Italy. Those same poets who had taught me to love antiquity had attracted me also to the Italy of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and our own day. My religious training taught me to love St. Francis, Umbria seemed to me another Holy Land and Assisi a second Bethlehem.

We made short stays in Venice and Florence. In Venice I bought an Italian Grammar. Before

that I had made no attempt to learn the Italian language. In Florence my mother gave me a priceless birthday gift, a pocket edition of Dante, published by J. M. Dent & Co., with Italian on one side and English on the other. I was to read this book more and more in the coming years, as Dante became another of the guiding stars of my life.

I reached Athens at the beginning of autumn. The Balkan War had just ended and the Greeks were full of pride and hope. You saw posters representing King Constantine riding in a golden glory into Constantinople to claim the throne of the Byzantine Emperors. Another poster showed a scene of battle between the Greeks and the Bulgars; in one corner an Evzone was biting the ear of an enemy. There were few automobiles in Athens then. If you journeyed about the country, after leaving the railroad, you rode in a carriage or on mule or horseback. In some of our excursions we used bicycles, developing a remarkable ability to ride on cow-paths even after dark, without a fall.

We made the usual trips to the Peloponnesus, to Euboea and Boeotia, to Delphi, again to Euboea and Thessaly, to Samos, Cos and Rhodes, to Halicarnassus, Miletus, Ephesus, Sardis and finally to Constantinople. I enjoyed the sites which archaeology had uncovered but I was not an archaeologist myself. I continued the reading of Greek literature, feeling what it was again to read the masterpieces of Greek genius in the places where they were written. The eight months I spent in Greece were the culmination of a boyhood dream. I had seen the world which I first glimpsed in our English poets.

At the beginning of May, I returned to Italy. If the winter in Athens had been a culmination, my stay in Italy was another. A month was spent in Rome, where I enjoyed all the varied aspects of the Eternal City. Each of the civilizations that had left its record there attracted me. How those impressions mingled may be shown by a trip some friends and I made into the Sabine Hills. We took the train to Vico Varo, where we admired the delicate Renaissance sculptures of the façade of the village church. We then walked to Horace's Villa, several miles distant, where the Fountain of Bandusia poured its copious waters from the hillside. In the afternoon we climbed the volcano-like peak of Sarascinesca, a village said to have been founded by Saracen invaders. It was after dark when we passed through Sulmona (Sulmo), the birthplace of Ovid. Midnight had passed when we reached Subiaco, where, be-

side the rushing waters of the Anio, St. Benedict first took refuge from the world.

I read more Italian than Latin, making out as well as I could the verses of Tasso and Leopardi. I had not ceased to read Dante. On my way to Florence, I was privileged to visit at last the scene of St. Francis' life at Assisi. I found in Florence all the pleasure of my previous visit. I had some practice in speaking Italian in my pension, at the foot of the hill of Fiesole. I had, however, walked too far in the heat of the sun and began to feel a great lassitude. Feeling I needed a cooler climate, I set out for the North, visiting Bologna and Milan on the way. I was at Lago Maggiore when the news came of the assassination of the Austrian Archduke, the event that precipitated the First World War.

I had hoped to find in Germany my pleasure of the past summer; but as I journeyed through the Black Forest and down the Rhine, two circumstances arose to trouble me. For one thing, I missed my good companion of the preceding year and for another, I developed a severe toothache. In my loneliness and discomfort I looked around for a place where I might find a friend; but could think of none nearer than Paris. Thus it was that my center of interest suddenly shifted from Germany to France. To be sure, the coming war would soon have driven me out of Germany; but I should not have had the opportunity to know the French people, which I now had.

I settled down in a little pension beyond the Luxembourg garden. For the first time in my life I found myself in ideal circumstances for learning a language, since no one there spoke English. Among the pensionnaires was a lovable abbé who remembered 1870. In the momentous weeks that followed I saw the French people as they faced a time of crisis. I read French literature and attended the theatre and opera. Paris became for me the city *par excellence*. I stayed there until the beginning of the Battle of the Marne; when the need of finding a job, rather than fear of developments, obliged me to return home.

The two years that followed, like those of many a beginning teacher, were troubled ones. I was a tutor rather than a teacher and came to think of myself as a jack-of-all-trades, teaching whatever subject might be required. I found time, however, to study for a Master's degree at my *alma mater*. It was indicative of a shift in interest that my major was Greek but my minor, Italian. At the conclusion of the two years I began to study for the doctorate in Greek and Latin at Harvard; but with insufficient funds

and poor health, I had to abandon the project.

It is noteworthy that in spite of my sojourns in France it had not yet occurred to me to make French the chief object of my study. On leaving Harvard, I had my first experience of real teaching. I became the Latin teacher in the high school of a beautiful New England town. For the first time I was happy in my teaching. I had occupied my position, however, only a few months when an opportunity arose to return to Europe. I was accepted as a member of the *Foyer du Soldat*, the branch of the Y.M.C.A. that worked with the French Army. For two years I lived almost entirely among the French, having little occasion to use my own language. I learned to admire the courage and modesty of the French soldier; lived with him behind the lines and at the front, chiefly in the Champagne country and the Forest of the Argonne. Occasions were not infrequent when I was stationed in Paris or went there on leave, where I was assiduous in my attendance at the *Comédie Française*, the Odeon and the Opera; learned from Renan, Anatole France and others to see in the French the inheritors of the Classic spirit. In moments of leisure I read widely in French literature.

On my return to America, was it not natural that I should accept, when a position in French was offered me? At that moment, it was perhaps the best I had to give. It was my duty, as well as my pleasure, to bear witness to the gifted people with whom I had been privileged to live so intimately in a time of peril.

Circumstances that I can never regret had made of me a teacher of French. The same cause made of me shortly a teacher of Spanish. There was need of someone to teach a class of Spanish and I was called on to fill the gap. Like many a young teacher, I learned as I taught. Before many years had gone by, I could add Cervantes to the small group of choice spirits whom I regarded as the masters of world literature.

I decided to take my doctorate at the Johns Hopkins University. Since I was not yet ready to take up residence there, I wrote my thesis in *absentia*. The subject I chose showed that my interest had not swerved too far from my starting point. I wrote on *Chateaubriand and Homer*. For preparation I had to read the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the original, as well as the works of Cha-

teaubriand. During my year of residence, which followed shortly, French was my major and Greek and Spanish were my minors. Latin and Italian, it will be seen, had retreated into the background.

I came to Emory where, at the beginning, my work was chiefly in French. I was fortunate in being able to establish courses in Rabelais and Montaigne and the lyric and dramatic poetry of the Renaissance. In these courses I found particular pleasure in filling in the Classical background; which I was able to do also with certain poets and novelists of the nineteenth century.

After a year or so at Emory, I started a course in Dante in the original, seeking to introduce others to the great poet and to Italian; from that same pocket edition that I had once used—later substituting the Grandgent edition, as elementary courses in Italian were introduced. For a number of years a few excellent students read with me *The Divine Comedy* from beginning to end.

The Second World War broke out. My time was now given almost fully to Spanish. As once I had been called upon to fill a gap in Spanish, so now I undertook to offer an introductory course in Portuguese, greatly drawn both to the language and its literature. I was then at the farthest point from my Classical origins.

Such is my story. At the end of the war I was given an opportunity to return to the Classical fold. Why did I accept? One reason, obviously, was that it was a challenge. I had been increasingly disturbed, moreover, by the complete lack of a Classical foundation in my students. To my mind it was unthinkable that a student should do good work in linguistics or literature without a knowledge of Latin and Greek. Dimly at first, and the more and more clearly, it dawned upon me that I, whose starting point had been poetry and religious mysticism, was devoting my major efforts to the teaching of Latin, a language whose excellence lay chiefly in prose and a certain scepticism. I owed much to those years of contact with a people that I sincerely loved; but was it not time that I should return to the gods of my childhood? The place for a lover of the Classics today is not on the fringes of the subject, but in the very heart of the endeavor to put first things first.

CHARLES R. HART

Emory University

We See By the Papers

Edited by Grundy Steiner

Two more gems to place in the showcase of statements to give the reader reason to pause come from Professor Leslie F. Smith at the University of Okalahoma. The latest is an Associated Press story from Catania, Sicily in the NEW YORK TIMES (May 6) which reports the finding of a "large mosaic floor probably dating from the fourth century before Christ." Archaeologist Baigio Pace is quoted as saying that the mosaic is "a beautiful example of the imperial Roman era."

But the really moving item comes from the same issue of the NEW YORKER in the fourth of a series of articles on the President by John Hersey where President Truman is quoted, "There was a blacksmith (Elihu Burritt) up in New England before the Civil War; he used to decline Latin verbs while he worked. He'd prop a volume of Horace or Lucullus [sic] up by his belows, and he'd learn it by heart. He was one of the best-educated men in the country." "This village blacksmith," says Professor Smith, "would have been a good man to go to for the lost books of Livy."

SCIPIO AND MACARTHUR

"*Ingrata Belgia, non possidebis ossa mea.*" With these words former Field Marshall Alexander von Falkenhausen, German ruler of occupied Belgium, departed from that country on March 28 after being imprisoned for six years and eight months despite his claim that he had tried to help the Belgians. This information was reported in the CHICAGO TRIBUNE (March 29) according to a clipping forwarded by the Reverend Edward M. Gallagher of the New Melleray (Trappist) Seminary in Peosta, Iowa. TIME took up the story on April 9 with the comment that the quotation is a "splattered echo of the great Roman general, Scipio Africanus," who, in embittered exile, ordered these words inscribed on his tomb: "*Ingrata patria, ne ossa quidem habebis.*" The latter clipping was found by Miss Helene Wilson of Dearborn (Michigan) High School.

The name of General MacArthur also has been associated with that of Scipio in the public press,

(Turn to p. 408)

PAYSON SIBLEY WILD

May 25, 1869–February 6, 1951

Education: St. Johnsbury Acad., Latin salutarior, '87; AB, Williams, '91, Phi Beta Kappa; graduate student and Fellow, University of Chicago, '04-'08. Teaching: Headmaster, St. John's School, Manlius, N. Y., '92-'98; Founder-Principal, Princeton-Yale School, Chicago, '99-'02; Assoc. Prin., Harvard School, Chicago, '02-'04. Memberships: Chicago Classical Club (past-president), CAMWS, Cliff Dwellers, Midland Authors, Caxton Club, Chicago Literary Club (past-president). Publications: in CJ, "Two Julias" (13.14-24), three on his mythical "Smith's Hotel" (18.535-542, 35.516-536, 39.407-417); "The Links of Ancient Rome," '15 (with BLT); "Idylls of the Skillet Fork," '18 (verse, largely from BLT's column in the Chicago Tribune); "Valley and Villa of Horace," '36 (by the Caxton Club). Unpublished (first four presented to the Chicago Literary Club): "An early literary club," "On the Hades of Golf Club Portico," "Megistothoeos," "How old is Horace?," "Ausonius and his *Mosella*," "An old satirist modernized" (Persius), "The Classics and effective English."

PAYSON WILD was a handsome, distinguished-looking, elegant gentleman; but withal kindly and sincere, *simplex munditiis*. Cephalus in the first book of Plato's *Republic* applies the story of Themistocles and the Seriphian to the advantage in setting given a man by a measure of wealth. Wild was in circumstances permitting gracious living, and these enhanced the effect of the man. His son is Vice-President of Northwestern University. In describing him, I find myself simply drawing up a vocabulary-list of words of refinement: *urbanitas, littérateur, bibliophile, arbiter elegantiarum*. He was not so much a proponent of the Classics as an embodiment of the Classicism of which we are sometimes merely propagandists. Except for grim details of his closing days, after more than eighty years of life, Payson Wild was a fortunate man, not only *laetus* but *beatus*. A Greek philosopher conjectured that the gods on Olympus talked a kind of Greek. In the land of mystery which he has now entered, we trust he finds for his communications some language of the spirit—perhaps Latin, as in Smith's Hotel.—CLYDE MURLEY.

Ausonius
A Fourth Century Poet
Payson Sibley Wild

Published thus posthumously, this paper was not prepared for the printer by my friend. I have omitted his marginal documentation. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are by the author.

TO WHAT EXTENT IS A MAN THE CHILD OF his environment? To what extent of heredity? It is a moot question. A few of the earlier post-Renaissance commentators of Ausonius were of the opinion that had he been fortunate enough to have been born into the golden period of Roman literature, he would not only have held his own with the alpha stars but would have outshone them. (My own reading of Ausonius has convinced me that this is a wildly extravagant statement.) These commentators would have done for Ausonius what certain critics of a much later day tried to do for that night-blooming cereus of English literature, Gray: ascribe his sterility to his surroundings and not to his own defects.

Such speculation is idle. Possibly, as was said of Gray, "on whatever times he might have fallen, if he had attempted to sing of contemporary kings and battles, Apollo would have twitched his ear"; and possibly not. The problem is not general but particular. In the case of Ausonius it seems an approach to the limit of hardihood in literary conjecture to postulate definitely for him a

seat among the mighty had he been differently envired.

A perusal of Ausonius' extant works reveals on almost every page the *rhetorische Schnörkelei*, the stylistic extravagance of fourth century erudition, of which Ausonius was—shall we say—an unconscious victim; and at the same time one looks in vain, except in the *Mosella*, and here and there in spots, for that largeness of vision, that simplicity of thought and expression, that word music, which are indispensable in the make-up of a great poet. Ausonius could work the machine perfectly, the machine of the schools, of the grammarians and rhetoricians; but in his heart he knew not Parnassus, though his gaze infrequently lingered longingly on its summit. And yet, as we shall see, he was a man capable of deep feeling and lofty emotion. He was both human and humane.

To him the synthesis "Not the arts but art!" does not apply. "I have the arts; is that not art?" we can almost hear him say. He writes to Paulinus (a former pupil, whom he had trained in classical culture and rhetoric at Bordeaux) as follows:

As to the little work you have sent me, I will do what you desire. I will do my very best to give the whole a still higher polish; and although, in your hands, it has been brought to its perfection, I will still try to bestow upon it a superfluity of lustre, out of deference to your wishes rather than with the hope of improving what is already perfect. In the meantime, that your messenger may not return without a little poetical corollary, I have amused myself with writing a few playful iambics, while I am entering upon the composition in heroic measure which you desire me to undertake. The lines I now send you were, I solemnly assure you, produced at one sitting; a haste of which the poem itself bears sufficient marks, yet it has had no attention bestowed upon it since it first came from my pen.

Beneath the surface of this letter one may see at work the well-oiled machinery of the rhetorical engine, which, from the first century down, gaining steadily in power, produced denatured writers, artificialized the standards of composition, and smothered creativeness, spontaneity, and originality.

It is interesting to note in passing that all of Ausonius' correspondence and most of that of his period bear the marks of this rhetorical hypertrophy, which comprises among other things an excessive use of the *lima*, or file, involution of phraseology, abundant tropes, an affected and inspissated style, and above all an atmosphere of adulation and formal extravagance. To Ausonius and his contemporaries and successors clung the "mediocrity of a bastard epoch." The height of their ambition seems to have been to imitate and improve upon the ancient writers. Their classical reminiscences supplied them with a large stock of epic, poetic, and half-obsolete words, "which swim on the smooth surface of their works like heavy logs on stagnant water."

Ausonius had the misfortune—misfortune as viewed with a modern perspective—to play his part in life in what may be termed the *German-Silver* age of Roman letters. The average student of Latin in America usually knows *something* (though probably not much) of the writers of the Golden Age, less (much less) of Silver literature, and practically nothing of the German-Silver period. In extenuation of this condition of things it should be said that the descent of this literary ladder is fraught with sickening peril. The farther

down we go, the more stifling becomes the air. At the bottom the choke-damp is fatal.

Why this decline in literature should have been coincident with the political and economic decline of Rome is a question with perhaps a plausible answer. Whatever may have been the causes of the economic and political decline—barbarian invasions, a government so complex and complete that it left nothing to the initiative of the individual, fancied security, moribund patriotism, and what not, the discussion of which must be left to disagreeing historians—it is doubtless true that by the middle of the first century literature was throttled by despotism. The nurture of the broad-minded Augustus was followed almost immediately by the "brutal, dull-witted or maniacal" antagonism to independence of any kind of his successors, whose jealous sciolism and inordinate vanity speedily reduced the blooming handmaid of former years to a condition of blubbery servility.

The minds of men thus naturally turned in an inward direction upon themselves, and either soured or became hypocritical. Freedom of expression lapsed into artificiality. Fear turned men into fawning, play-acting puppets, who were compelled to adopt unnatural, theatrical mannerisms of thought and style. From this false attitude grew the wish to please, to entertain, to produce an effect. And so we see declamation superseding natural oratory; versatility in place of simple and natural composition; and desire to achieve literary immortality by the get-rich-quick method instead of through the spontaneous outburst of a surcharged soul. Language became brilliant, piquant; it wore tinsel skirts and frothy draperies. In feverish haste men ransacked the crannies of ingenuity for new figures of speech, turns of phrase, and sparkling metaphors. The early models were freely drawn upon and the material extracted worked over anew.

"Poetry became rhetorical and prose poetical" or rather metrical. Catch-penny devices for attracting attention were universal: now it was the pose of studied abruptness, now a deliberate roughness or

obscurity, now the indiscriminate use of garish colors. Expression was more than thought; external brilliancy the first consideration. In this connection one recalls Juvenal's phrase (4, 16): *De magnis maiora loquuntur*. Ausonius himself illuminates this point in one of his letters to Paulus; in fact he sums up the whole matter in the following hexametric line:

Nobiscum invenies épéων πολυμορφία πλῆθον.

That this later rhetorical development was superior to the style of the fathers became an obsession, and in the second century the exchange of the Parthenon for the florid Spectatorium was made complete.

The division of Roman literature into the categories Golden and Silver is generally accepted and understood. I have ventured to add a third, the *German-Silver* (for it seems both to complement the first two, and to connote the Northern invasions), covering the literature from the third century to the sixth, when Roman letters became extinct.

In the third and fourth centuries we see still standing the golden calf of rhetoric. But there was no Roman Moses to grind it to powder. Its gilding is tarnished. Many names, of men whose work is lost or preserved only in fragments, or whose writings now exist by virtue of chance or ecclesiastical zeal, adorn the pages of the unabridged histories of Roman literature. But for the general student comparatively few have any interest, beyond that aroused by curiosity or the need of special research. Here and there in this decade or that we glimpse an occasional flash from the tinder-box of some Promethean spirit, who for a brief moment emitted a divine spark; but there is no steady glow. "It is the fall of the year in the garden of Rome."

I confess to a strong admiration for the prefect Symmachus, one of the close friends and correspondents of Ausonius. This friendship was formed when both men were residing at the imperial court at Trèves, shortly after the middle of the fourth century. Symmachus was one of the last prophets of the old order, an exponent of Catonian Romanism. He held fast with unquenchable

ardor to the traditions on which the state had been founded. About thirty of his letters to Ausonius have been preserved in the collected epistles found in the editions of Ausonius, while only one to Symmachus from Ausonius is extant. These letters are full of extravagant flattery.

Coeval with Ausonius was the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who produced the first serious historical work of any value after Tacitus. His honesty, frankness, freedom from cant and adulation compel our praise. Markedly turgid in style and hard to read, he is yet the delight of the historian for events covering the third quarter of the century.

Augustine was young when Ausonius was old. He is probably the best known, in a popular way, of his period. Endowed with intellectual brilliancy, he suffered his religious zeal to overshadow the natural promptings of his spirit; and what may have been literature's loss was certainly patristic gain.

Mention should be made, among the contemporaries of Ausonius, of Hieronymus, or Jerome, the author of the Vulgate; of Pacatus, the author of a panegyric on Theodosius and a younger colleague and fellow countryman of Ausonius; of Servius and Donatus the grammarians; of Prudentius, the Christian poet, who doubtless wielded a smoother and statelier pen, taking their works by and large, than did Ausonius; of Axius Paulus, an intimate friend and fellow teacher in Southern Gaul; and lastly Paulinus, *quem supra nominavimus*, who was baptized into Christianity only a few years before Ausonius died, and became Bishop of Nola in Italy.

With all these writers Ausonius shared the defects of the period. What these were, in part at least, we have already said. Where there was any imagination at all it expended itself on unworthy subjects. All these men knew their classical models from A to Izzard, and their verse—and more often than not their work took metrical form—is saturated with the fumes of Vergil and Horace *recocci*. Variations of familiar themes, done in faultless verse, are accounted most creditable. Imitation is a virtue. Serenus Sammonicus commits his medical treatise on headache,

gout, and snakebite to what he doubtless believes to be imperishable hexameters. Terentianus Maurus tries to break into the realm of poesy with his versified metrical rules. Ausonius is a servile adapter; he likes nothing better than to dismember the Palatine Anthology and re-convert the fragments into often graceful Latin. Mythological subjects and stories are continually drawn upon for some new clever turn, until it almost seems as if the gods would rebel. But the gods, too, are dying; and we must not grudge them the slender homage of paganism's swan song.

This is only one side of the shield. The other side must be reckoned with too. We must give these men their due. It is easy enough for us to wag our heads and prescribe for our brethren of the fourth and fifth centuries, declaring that they should have created more freely and spontaneously, and thought and dreamed in more sublimated fashion. But we must not forget that they were children of their times as we are of ours, and that their times, like all times, were in a state of flux. If there were no giants in those days, at least they were men; and their humanism is intensely interesting from many points of view.

Is it impertinent for us to ask ourselves today whether we may not now at this present be entering upon, if we are not already submerged in, an era of decadence, in literature or in politics, or in both? A description and clear understanding of a maelstrom—of its causes, its movements, its direction—is impossible to one who is in it, a part of it, and moving with it. Let us be just to fourth century literature!

Throughout the long struggle of paganism against Christianity, the final stages of which were reached in the fourth century, the aim of the exponents of the old order of things, the courtiers of the gods, had been to breathe fresh life if they might into the ancient cult by reviving and imitating the standard pagan authors. In this they had failed. Olympus was no longer able to prevail against the growing domination of the idea that the future life was of more importance than this. Paganism could not rise from itself;

its ashes were no longer fertile. But one of the results achieved by this conflict was to bring home to the minds of those who wavered between the new and the old, as well as to those who were positively committed to the new, the idea that there was room in the structure of the new religion, without prejudice to its character, for the beauty and culture of Apollo and the Muses. Hence the syncretists of that period. Even Prudentius saw this. Paulinus, however, was a marked exception. The interesting story of his firm stand, after having been baptized and having renounced the Muses, and after Ausonius had pleaded with him to return and enjoy again the sweets he had abjured, is told in the Ausonian collection of letters. The aged rhetor could not understand the spiritual motives of Paulinus at all. To him they were quite unintelligible, for such Christianity as Ausonius had sat very lightly upon him. He had doubtless embraced Christianity while at the imperial court, since that was the declared state religion, but it was purely nominal. Like so many others he was not vitally affected by the principles of the Christian faith. It is probable that he was expected, while at Valentinian's court as the tutor of the heir presumptive, the youthful Gratian, to contribute his share to the formal Christian observances of the imperial household. Policy therefore, if not conviction, would determine his behavior there. But Ausonius was essentially pagan at heart, and was swayed by pagan ideas. It is a fair assumption, it seems to me, that the ascetic character of the Christianity of his day—which would preclude, as Augustine's example so well affirms, the full and untrammelled enjoyment of the intellectual delights flowing from the works of the classic writers—was repugnant to the calm, unruffled, and for the most part uninspired man of letters of Bordeaux. Judging from what is left to us of his work, we must concede to Ausonius an honest and significant predilection for those humanistic monuments which neither time nor zealotry have been able to efface. Only three poems in the entire collection of *Ausoniana* are distinctively Christian in character: the *Oratio*, or Prayer, of the *Ephemeris*; the *Versus*

Paschales; and the *Versus Rhopalici*. Concerning two of these we shall speak briefly later.

Decimus Magnus Ausonius, who was born at Bordeaux about 310, was the child of a kindly fate. In Gaul a reasonably peaceful state of affairs obtained during his long life of more than eighty years. The materials for his biography are in his writings. His father was a physician, who (if we may credit the son's tribute to him) must have been filled with the milk of human kindness, and have been among the first to establish the tradition familiar to us of the "country doctor," the unselfish patron and friend of the entire community.

As a child Ausonius showed marked ability, and when a youth attracted the attention of his maternal uncle Arborius, who was a noted rhetorician at Toulouse. Under his uncle's care he remained for possibly a year, until the former was summoned to Byzantium by Constantine to direct the education of the royal princes. Returning to his native city, Ausonius pursued his studies with signal success, married Sabina, daughter of a prominent senator, and with an assured social position was called by his fellow citizens to teach grammar, and, shortly after, rhetoric. He was then about twenty-five years of age. Except for a brief period when he practiced in the Forum as an advocate with some measure of achievement, though the work had little attraction for him, he was a teacher for the next thirty years. His reputation must have been of steady growth and his fame more than local; for in 365 the emperor Valentinian I, who was casting about for a tutor for his young son Gratian, made Ausonius his choice. The imperial court at that time was at Trèves; and thither Ausonius went to spend many years in high places, and to receive such exalted preferment as lay in the power and will of Caesar to bestow. Ausonius was successively *comes*, or count; *Quaestor* of the Sacred Palace; *Prefect* of Gaul and Italy; and finally, in 379, was invested with the consulship by his *protégé* Gratian, then emperor, an honor to which he had aspired from his youth up. Doubtless he had long carried in his mind the memory of the horoscope cast by an astrological grandfather at his birth,

that he was to achieve the consulate before his death. In this instance astrology vindicated itself, but only because Fact and Fate were co-conspirators with Fancy.

An idea implanted by force, in accordance with a well-attested psychological principle, ultimately becomes, if sufficiently pressed, an *idée fixe*. We have noticed how the suppression of independent thought in the early days of the empire resulted in an artificial medium of expression, a rhetoric which its votaries of the decadence regarded as superior to its more worthy parent. In a manner that seems nay, is, to us fulsome and sycophantic, and with monumental complacency, Ausonius signifies his acceptance of the by now hollow purple honor in a long letter to Gratian, which is a model of highly differentiated rhetorical devices and honeyed flummery. This letter will be found in the *opuscula* of Ausonius under the title, *Gratiarum actio ad Gratianum Imperatorem pro consulatu*. A pun is probably intended.

After the death of Gratian, Ausonius, then well along in years, returned to his native Bordeaux; where, dwelling in his suburban villas in retirement, peace, and honor, he ended his days five or six years before the opening of the fifth century.

With this very imperfect background before us, let us consider briefly the literary relics of Ausonius which have come down to us. Within the compass of so *cursor* an *excursus* (if I may fall into his rhetorical manner) as this must necessarily be, it will be quite impossible to do Ausonius anything like even partial justice. An excerpt here, another there, and a few general and special comments will tax us sufficiently. To be appreciated properly, Ausonius must be read in the original and judiciously skipped; for there is much that is "sicklied o'er with the pale cast" of ineffable dullness.

Ausonius' mainspring is his cleverness. His skill in the use and collocation of words to build a neat metrical structure around some trifling subject, usually borrowed, is really enviable. Indeed, newspaper poets today would do well to study Ausonius. The following epigram, while classed with the *Incerta*, is so Ausonian that we must quote it:

Infelix Dido, nulli bene nupta marito:
Hoc pereunte fugis, hoc fugiente peris.

It has been very neatly turned into English:

Poor Dido found but little rest,
By neither of her spouses blest;
She flies because the first was dead,
And dies because the second fled.

Waring tr.

Cleverness was a *sine qua non* of the literary canons. Ausonius drops into verse as easily as Pope or Eddie Guest. Almost all of his work is in verse form, in fact. His letters are often done in two or three different kinds of metre—elaborate phraseology that says very little.

We have reason to be thankful that Ausonius is not lacking in humor, that universal solvent, without which many an author has been pickled in his own vinegar. His letters generally are not serious, but teem with ripples of levity verbosely couched. His little prose prefaces that often precede some metrical effort are quite as interesting as the content and purport of the verses themselves. It was the gentle custom, as we know, for learned friends at all periods to exchange their wares with one another for comparison, criticism, or mutual admiration. In Ausonius' day this custom had become a confirmed habit. In these little prefaces there is likely to be a naturalness, a quiet touch of humor, a genuine expression of personal feeling, that give them a greater value for the humanist than the more pretentious matter that follows.

The whimsical verses in iambic dimeter addressed to a facile-fingered secretary attest Ausonius' fondness for a bit of nonsense. These verses are found in the *Ephemeris*, a series of seven poems descriptive of the various activities of the day in regular order, and comprise the first half of the seventh poem.

IN NOTARIUM IN SCRIBENDO VELOCISSIMUM

Puer, notarum praepetum
Sollers minister, advola.
Etc.

These verses may perhaps be paraphrased in English in the following fashion:

All right, Miss Perkins. (How she dotes
On curlicues and wingéd notes!)
A letter, please, and show us, pray,
How all the thousand things I say—
Till tongue and voice refuse to work—
Are deftly writ in quirl and quirk.
What reams of words at you I bawl—
A mark or two—you've got it all.
Like rattling hailstones is my speech;
With burning lips at you I screech;
Your ear, howe'er, is not in doubt
No matter how I yell or shout;
Although your hand you move but slightly,
Still o'er the page it hovers lightly,
As though it were a sparrow sprightly;
And when confused I grow prolix,
And metaphors and figures mix,
My meaning still you always get;
Before I'm through your page is wet.
If only my dull mind could skip
As fast as you prevent my lip!
Who hath betrayed me, who, I pray?
Who told you first what I would say?
(*Quis, quaeso, quis me prodidit?*
Quis ista iam dixit tibi
Quae cogitabam dicere?)
What secrets in my inner heart
In your right hand have counterpart?
No learning, short-hand schools, or such
Endowed you with that magic touch!
Dame Nature handed it to you,
Or may high heaven me beshrew!
Some god hath given you this gift,
Before I speak to catch my drift.

But it is in *tours de force* that Ausonius revels. Here again he is a product of the rhetorical machine. His prayer in so-called *rhopalic* (club-shaped) verses is a metrical curiosity. Each line of the hexameter begins with a monosyllable, which is followed by a word of two syllables; then comes a word of three syllables, then one of four; and the line concludes with a sonorous quinquasyllable. Hence club-shaped. The effect is that of some heavy body getting under way:

"*Spes, Deus, aeternae stationis conciliator:*
Si castis precibus veniales invigilamus"—

It seems not ill-adapted to prayer, with its ponderous and dignified swing. The verses are inimitable in English. The concatenation of words after the *rhopalic* scheme would result only in some monstrous logodaedaly like the following:

A swirling, scintillant, transpicuous nebulosity
Now illumes Ausony's mentality inconceivably.

There is another labored *tour de force* called the *Technopaegnon*. It belongs in the same class with the rhopalics. As the name implies, it is a *toying with art*. It is certainly very "arty." When Ausonius sent it to Paulinus he called it *opusculum inertis otii mei inutile*. He was right; it is useless, perfectly useless. Each line begins and ends with a monosyllable, the final monosyllable being repeated as the initial word of the next line. This is pure verbal gymnastics with no saving grace, and is worth only passing mention. Ingenuity is all that is needed. Ausonius had that, and patience besides, and, we should add, leisure.

The great *tour de force*, however, which Ausonius committed, is the *Cento Nuptialis*, or Marriage Medley. This is a monument of ingenuity, one may say of fiendish ingenuity, and its cleverness is beyond dispute. Ausonius never hesitates at pornography in his work, and in the *Cento* he let himself go. It was written while Ausonius was at court, in answer to a challenge from the emperor Valentinian. That Ausonius knew Vergil by heart is conclusively proved by a perusal of the *Cento*; for this is a Vergilian mosaic, skilfully pieced together out of lines and half lines selected from the *Aeneid*, the *Georgics*, and the *Eclogues*. Metrically, of course, it rings true; but it gives one a shock nevertheless to see familiar Vergilian phrases, for the most part innocent and beautiful in their original setting, torn out by the roots and converted into ingenious images of perversion. In the usual preface, addressed to Paulus to whom he was sending the Medley, Ausonius acknowledges that the work is a piece of frivolity hastily done, and a disgrace to the dignity of Vergil. But Valentinian bade him do it, he says, and so what else could he do? A command from the *sanctus Imperator* himself might not be disregarded. There is some ground, however, in my mind for questioning the sincerity of this attempt to excuse himself; for he tacitly enjoys the triumph which he won at court with the *Cento*, and proceeds to outline to Paulus in elaborate detail the methods pursued in constructing the lines. It would seem almost as if

Ausonius took a secret delight in this poetic abortion; and possibly most of his readers, many at any rate, are too human to care to deny him that pleasure. Concerning this *obscenitas verborum* of the classical writers, both Greek and Latin, that eminent and perspicacious sociologist Professor Sumner, in his *Folkways*, makes this keen observation:

What we call obscene was, in ancient times, either a matter of superstition, or a free field for jest. The conventionalization in favor of what is amusing must always be recognized. It has always entered into comedy in the theater. A jest will not cover as much now as it once would, but it still goes far.

Ausonius throws a little light on this matter in a short apology at the end of the *Cento*, but he is very naive about it, and his tongue is all doubled up in his cheek. The ethical value of this little postscript is not very great. Here it is; he begins with a bit of verse:

Contentus esto, Paule mi,
Lascivâ, Paule, paginâ: (etc.)

Be satisfied, I pray you, Paul,
With these lascivious verses;
And when you have perused them all,
Just smile and spare your curses.

Then he goes on in prose:

I want you to stand by me, Paul, against critics who, as Juvenal says, "Pretend to be Puritans, but in reality live incontinently." I don't want them to judge my life by these verses! Martial says, you know "My life is as straight as a string, though my books be a trifle off-color." My critics will remember, at any rate those who are well read, that Pliny's versicles were rather loose, though he was a stickler for morals; that Sulpicius was a bit prurient in his writings, but openly frowned on that sort of thing; that Apuleius was a philosopher in his life, but a lover in his epigrams; that Cicero in precept was severe, but in his letters to Caerellia was something of a wanton. . . . Do I need to mention the erotic books of that ancient poet Laevius? Do I need to mention Euenus, or Menander? Or all the poets of Comedy, who were free in the choice and use of their subject matter, but strict in their conduct? Even Vergil was called an old prude because of his modesty. You recall his description of Venus and Vulcan in the eighth *Aeneid*, and his account of cattle breeding in the third book of the *Georgics*, how beautifully and unobjectionably they are worded; he had the art of clothing the taboo in a respectable suit of words. And so, if anyone's judgment condemns this bit of fun of mine, I want him to remember that it is every whit taken from Vergil! Accordingly, if anyone doesn't like it, he needn't read it; or, if he reads it, he needn't

remember it; and if he can't forget it, then he must "lump" it.

So Ausonius. Who of this present generation, if I may be so bold as to ask, can consistently heave rocks at our ancient friends, whose fuliginous fun was doubtless, and still is, fully as innocuous as the unrestrained realism of much of our literature today?

Ausonius has left us a number of pretty and delicate verses addressed to every member of his family, and to all his relatives even the most distant. These verses comprise the *Parentalia*. To all of his fellow teachers and colleagues he has paid his compliments in a collection of divers poems and versicles grouped under the heading, *Commemoratio Professorum*. The quality of this matter does not justify our lingering over it. We must leave it to the classical antiquarian.

The *Epigrams* are vastly more interesting. There are many of them. For the most part they are imitative, and neatly done. Here is one, lifted bodily from the Greek Anthology. Shorn of about half of its verbiage, it reduces to the following:

A PAINTED PICTURE OF ECHO SPEAKS

Oh, foolish painter, why affect
To limn a form unknown;
The child of air and sound to expect
On canvas to enthrone?
The mother I of empty sign,
A voice without a mind;
I hurl your shouts from vale and chine
Back on the hollow wind.
Within your ear I always dwell,
Wherever I am found;
If you would paint my portrait well,
Why don't you paint a sound?

The epigrams on the Caesars from Julius to Heliogabalus are in tetrastichs, and are based on Suetonius. Here are the first, second, and sixth, much boiled down, and freely rendered:

JULIUS CAESAR

The power supreme in consuls vested
To take was Julius' whim;
But brief his rule and soon arrested:
A faction daggered him.

OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS

A nobler Caesar and August
In Julius' footsteps trod;
His life was long, his rule was just,
And so they made him god.

NERO

The sixth and last of Aeneas' heirs
Disgraced the Julian title;
A thousand crimes his record bears,
A sickish, sad, recital.

Let us return to the *Ephemeris*, *Totius Diei Negotium*. The poet begins the day by rousing his slave, Parmeno. The Sapphics are quite graceful, but we shall not try to reproduce them. This is perhaps as near as we can come to the original:

EPHEMERIS. I.

The morning on thy casements dawneth bright,
The swallow twitters greeting to the light;
But, slothful, thou, as though it still were night,
Parmeno, sleepest.

The dormice sleep throughout the winter long;
They fast: thou ow'st thy sleep, my bon vivant,
To appetite and wine and ribald song,
Gluttonous gourmand!

No sound doth penetrate thy flaccid ear,
And nought for stupor can thy senses hear;
Thine eyes no gleaming ray of sunlight clear
Challenges fiercely.

Up, trifle, up; thou well deserv'st the scourge;
Arise, lest that long sleep thy being urge;
Thy dawdling couch of laggard members purge,
Parmeno sluggish.

Doth thee to sleep this song of mine persuade,
This lulling song in Sapphic garb arrayed?
Against thee then I'll make a new crusade,
Using iambs!

The poet does use iambs in the next poem, wherein he bids his slave open the *sacrarium* for morning prayer. At the end of this *parecbasis*, or turning aside to pray, the prayer is introduced:

And now my prayer let me begin,
For trembling thoughts a presence sense
Of some divinity within.

This *oratio*, the third poem of the *Ephemeris*, is a remarkable composition. It consists of eighty-five hexameters. As we have already said, it is one of the very few distinctively Christian utterances of Ausonius; it is also the most important of these. The language is sonorous, dignified, ecclesiastical; the theology that with which we have been familiar for many centuries. Very little imagination is required, in translating these lines, to put into the English version something of that

Jacobean simplicity and resonant rhythm which characterizes the Authorized Version of Holy Writ. Note the opening lines, for example:

ORATIO

Omnipotent One, known to me only through the discipline of my mind, stranger to evil doers, friend of the righteous; thou who art without beginning and without end; older than days that were or are to be; whose form and measure neither the mind of man can conceive nor his tongue utter; thyself the creator of the universe, the cause of all things that are; the word of God, thyself the word; thou who didst preconceive the world that was to be; who camest into being when Time was not; who precededst the dawn and the morning light; without whom nothing was made . . . by whom the land, the sea, and the darkness of Chaos were subdued; forever moving, changing all things; quickener of the inert . . .

And so it moves on in stately fashion throughout. It lacks the fervor and fire of Augustine; but it has an easy, tranquil flow of words that make it well worth perusing.

The *Ludus Septem Sapientum* represents Ausonius' very limited attempts at drama writing. One commentator says of it, "The work is interesting as being the remote forerunner of the morality plays of the Middle Ages." Perhaps it is also the ancestor of the *Masque*, which in English literature was highly developed by Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Milton. After the usual dedication (to Drepanius) and prologue, the *Ludius*, or actor, names the Seven Wise Men and the *sententiae* attributed to each of them, and then introduces the characters. Each participant expatiates upon the origin and moral application of his own apothegm in a style that is rather light and bordering on the humorous. We have time for only one example. Chilon enters after Solon, and declares:

CHILON

With aching back and weary eyes I sit,
Waiting for Solon to expend his wit.
Heigh-ho! How long these men of Attica
Talk, and how little, after all, they say!
Here's one who in three hundred verses now
Hath spoke a single sentence; and I trow,
He grudges even now the sight of me.

I am the Spartan Chilon, whom you see.
With our well known Laconic brevity
To you our *Γράβη σεαυτὸν* (NOSCE TE),

The precept "Know thyself," fit to descend
From heaven, and writ at Delphi, I commend.
Sore is the labor, sweet the fruit, to know
The line o'er which thy genius cannot go;
To meditate from dawn to set of sun
On each least thing thou doest and hast done.
All duty, honor, shame, doth this comprise;
In this our scorned and slighted glory lies.

I've done. Farewell. Remember Nature's laws.
And so I go, not waiting for applause.
Brooks tr.

The Ausonian curiosity shop contains much more of real as well as of passing interest; but delving into it would be justified only by abundant leisure. Among the divisions of the poet's work, chapters, so to speak, which we have not mentioned at all, are the following: The *Epitaphia Heroum*; the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*; the *Fasti* (only fragments are extant); the *Griphus de Ternario Numero* (an erudite enumeration of all kinds of things combined in threes); the *Cupido Cruciatius*; the *Bissula*, poems addressed to his grandson Ausonius, in which we can get some idea of how grammar schools were conducted and what the pupils were supposed to study; and the so called *Eclogues*. Among these latter are to be found certain *versus memoriales*, common facts metrically expressed for youthful pupils to memorize. You will perhaps be surprised, as I was, to discover that Ausonius was possibly the first to versify as an aid to memory our familiar "Thirty days hath September, April, June, and November":

Implent tricenae per singula menstrua luges
Iunius Aprilisque et cum Septembre November.

We hasten now to speak of the *Mosella*, Ausonius' *chef d'oeuvre*. In this little epic of 480 lines the author has left his most enduring monument. It is his headstone, *perennius aere*. Most, if not all, of his other work lies buried with him except as an occasional literary curio-monger digs it up from time to time. But the *Mosella* is still read to a considerable extent especially in Europe. It shines with a modest brilliance all its own. It is the lone poetic beacon of the decadent centuries. Here to quite a marked extent Ausonius shook off the shackles of rhetoric and flew into the open on a flight that was

natural if not wholly sustained. The poem is a, I had almost said *the, locus classicus* for nature description, for word pictures of scenic beauty. During his sojourn at Trèves Ausonius made the trip down the Moselle to Coblenz. In highly poetic passages he celebrates the clear waters, the vineyards, the villas, the shadows, and other charms of this picturesque stream. There are interesting digressions on the fish of the river, and on its mythology; and in his imagination the poet peoples the banks with the divinities and demigods of classical poetry. You will find in the *Mosella* a lively description of a boy catching fish with a rod and line. Despite the turgidity of style and forced figures of speech, which will obtrude themselves, this episode is quite readable:

But lying low upon the rocky bank
The youth inclines his slender rod convex
Over the pool beneath, his dangling hook
By deadly bait concealed. The darting schools
Of finny swimmers, unaware of harm,
With eager jaws attack and take the barb,
And then, too late, in their wide-open maws
They feel the wound made by the hidden iron.

I refrain from reading the remainder of this description, which includes the details of the death of the poor fish, in order to spare your emotions.

The popular esteem in which the *Mosella* was held is reflected in one of the surviving letters to Ausonius from his old friend Symmachus. A short paragraph or two will suffice for our purpose:

SYMMACHUS TO AUSONIUS

Your divine verses on the Moselle are in the hands and bosoms of multitudes, but I was to be favored only with a glimpse of them. Why, I would ask, was I to be denied this privilege? Was it because I am a stranger to the Muses, and incapable of discerning the merits of such a performance, or too envious to do it justice? . . . My sense of injury, however, has been sunk at once in my admiration of the poem. I became acquainted with the Moselle when I was following the standards of our immortal princes, and considered it on a par with many of our great, though not with our greatest, rivers; but you have raised it by your illustrious verses to a dignity above that of the Egyptian Nile; in your poem it has a more luxurious freshness than the frigid Don, and a

brighter transparency than our own Lake Fucinus. I am so well acquainted with your fondness for this river, that, did I not know how incapable you are of falsifying facts, even in a poem, I should not have trusted your accounts of its origin or its course . . . I solemnly aver that I rank your work with the productions of Maro.

Roberts tr.

We might interject—anent that last statement—all of us in unison: "*Di ignoscant Symmacho!*"

Ausonius, more erudite than learned, more of a pedant than a poet, served faithfully his day and generation. As a teacher, as a public servant, as a man of letters he was true to his own ideals. His loyalty to these we cannot question. Though we relegate most of his work to the upper shelves, let us not forget that he was an important factor in the literary as well as social life of the fourth century. That he was genial, kindly, unsoured, affectionate, with a disposition unspoiled by adversity—because he suffered so little from it—his works abundantly attest.

Let me conclude this scanty and imperfect sketch of an interesting personality with what I regard as the choicest bit of lyric poetry in the entire collection. It is included among the *Epigrams*, composed of elegiacs, addressed to the poet's wife; and was written before his wife's death, i.e., prior to 343. There is no superfluity of words here. To my mind it is pure feeling couched in simple, unadorned language. The author forgot himself for the moment.

AD UXOREM

Uxor, vivamus, quod viximus, et teneamus
Nomina, quae primo sumpsimus in thalamo:
Nec ferat ulla dies, ut commutemur in aevio;
Nec tibi sim juvenis tuque puella mihi.
Etc.

Let us live on, dear wife, as we have lived,
And be as young as on our marriage day;
The gods forbid that age should alter us,
And I to you be other than the youth
I was, or you to me the maid you were.
Though Nestor's years be mine, and yours the years
Numbered by Cumae's ancient sorceress
Deiphobe, still let us not forget
What ripe old age may mean to each of us.
Stop counting years! Count rather their rewards.

"All the earth will dance . . ."

The Dance in Metaphor

Lillian B. Lawler

This paper was read by the Editor of the Classical Outlook before CAMWS at Richmond in 1949. I was waiting for the 'hoplite' to turn up in the war-dancing matter.

PEOPLES OF ALL RACES and of all times, apparently, have used the concept of dancing in their figures of speech, and especially in their metaphors. It has seemed perfectly natural to most of them, for instance, to speak of "dancing eyes" or "dancing curls"; of spirited steeds as "dancing" nervously under restraint; of waves of the ocean as "dancing" in the sunlight, or of shadows as "dancing" on the wall; in more modern times, of searchlight beams or the Aurora Borealis as "dancing" in the sky; of objects as "dancing" before the gaze of persons who are ill or under emotional stress; or to say that a person's heart "leaps for joy," or that his spirits "dance." Some languages permit the metaphor of "dancing attendance" upon a person, or of "leading someone a merry dance." "Visions of sugarplums" quite understandably "dance in the heads" of children. A Tennyson writes of daffodils as "fluttering and dancing in the breeze"; and an old Hebrew poet speaks of the "leaping" or "hopping" of hills and mountains, or, making use of a double figure, says with dignity and beauty, "The mountains skipped" (a Hebrew word usually implying human dancers) "like rams, and the little hills like lambs" (*Psalms* 114, 4). One of Emily Brontë's characters¹ expresses the wish that all of nature may "sparkle and dance in a glorious jubilee." The Russian novelist Dmitri Merezhkowski quotes an Italian Renaissance saying which his translator renders, "Hunger danceth, hunger pranceth, hunger sings gay little songs."² Modern American writers apply the word *dance* to

activities ranging all the way from the flight of an aeroplane³ to the ordering of courses in our secondary schools—"For we have begun a dance of intellectual death, from which we can be saved only by the classics and by religion."⁴ Even newspaper writers frequently speak of a graceful tennis player as "dancing," and label a photograph of a tournament match "Ballet"; and advertising copy-writers entitle a dress "Dancing Ruffles," with the explanatory note, "Pleated ruffles go dancing around the square neckline, set off by gay bows," or "Whirlaway," with the expansive comment, "Winsome eyelet embroidery dances its way around the two pockets!"

More extensively, whole books have been built upon the dance metaphor. In 1816, William Combe published *The Dance of Life*, a book of verse depicting man's progress from infancy to old age. Somewhat different is *The Dance of the Months*, by Eden Phillpotts,⁵ a book consisting of twelve essays, each illustrated with a colored landscape depicting a characteristic scene on the moors of England in one of the months of the year; the book ends with a poem, "To the Months," in which the metaphor of dancing is elaborated. The works of the philosopher Nietzsche are permeated with the concept that all the activities of life form a rhythmic dance. Perhaps best known, however, among writings of this type is Havelock Ellis's book, *The Dance of Life*,⁶ the thesis of which is that "the rule of number and rhythm and measure and order" which is seen in the entire physical universe and in the life and thought of men (and of animals, also, to a lesser extent)

is really a dance. The metaphor is sustained throughout the book, and a great deal of historical and anthropological evidence is adduced to sustain its cogency.

It is not surprising, then, to find, when we turn to Greek literature, that it, too, boasts a rich array of metaphors bearing on the dance. What is arresting, however, is the amazing scope of these metaphors, and the wealth of imagination which creates and accompanies them.

One of the oldest figures involving dancing is the metaphor of the dance of the heavens. Lucian (*On the Dance*, 7) says that the art of the dance goes back to the creation of the universe, for the complex movements of the heavenly bodies form a cosmic dance. Libanius (*On the Dancers*, 12) says that the harmonious movement of the planets in their orbits was called a dance by the "wise men of old." In this connection it is interesting to recall that Urania, patroness of astronomy, was also one of the Muses, patronesses of the dance. Dio Chrysostom (xii, 34) gives us an extended metaphor in sublime tones, a comparison of the whole universe to a great initiation ritual, in which the gods dance around men, forever revealing to them the cosmic mysteries, while their "dance leader," Zeus, directs the mighty spectacle. On the shield of Achilles, the Pleiades, the Hyades, and other stars perform a heavenly dance (Euripides, *Electra* 467-8). Sometimes Dionysus leads the dance of the "fire-breathing stars" (Sophocles, *Antigone*, 1146). The majestic dance of the planets is in accord with the "laws of perfect music" (Philo, *On the Creation* I, xxiii, 70). The moon dances, and so does the upper air (Euripides, *Ion*, 1075-82). Comets dance through the sky, and their progress is called a "leap" (Aristotle, *Meteor.* i, 343 B, 23). Even the clouds "set the sacred dance for the Nymphs" (Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 271-2).

In Greek Christian writers, the earth, the sea, and the heavens dance in fear at the name of the Lord (*Pap. Mag. Leid.* W 17, 27; viii, 5 Dieterich). In medieval Britain the belief was strong that the sun danced on Easter Day, at dawn; and even in modern

times a flat vessel of water is often placed to catch its first "dancing" rays on that holy day.

This concept may have been taken over by the Greeks from other peoples, of more ancient culture than their own. Egyptian priests performed a complicated ritual imitative of the "dance of the heavenly bodies."⁷ It is possible that the Babylonians, too, may have had an "astronomical" dance. Some scholars believe that the Minoan Cretans thought of the sun as "dancing" through the heavens, and that one of their dances was an act of sympathetic magic to aid him in his progress.⁸ The influence of the Minoans upon the Greeks was, of course, very great, especially in the fields of religion and the dance.

Oddly enough, modern writers sometimes hark back to the same ancient metaphor. One of them⁹ says that the "limitless acres of night sky" swirl "like a dance of the imagination." Another¹⁰ calls the asteroids "dancers before the thresholds of the Great Worlds." And Merezkowski¹¹ speaks of the stars as "irrepressible dancers."

Somewhat different is the dancing of the earth, or various regions of the earth. "All the earth will dance," says Euripides (*Bacch.* 114), as Dionysus leads off his joyous choir; and Mount Cithaeron, according to the same author (*Bacch.* 726), dances with the Bacchantes. Here we recall, in a different connotation, *Psalm* xxix, 6, rendered, in the latest translation, "He makes Libanus dance like a calf, and Saron like a young antelope."¹² "All Thessaly danced in fear," says Callimachus, when Ares struck his spear against his shield. We are reminded here of similar usages in modern English—for instance, in an account of the bombing of Warsaw, an author says that "the ground danced beneath their feet."¹³ In the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides (782-4), the streets of Thebes dance for joy. The islands around Delos, according to Callimachus (*Hymn* iv, *Del.*, 300-1), encircle it in a choral dance. The Roman Varro claims (*ap. Martian. Cap.* 928) to have seen the famous dancing "Islands of the Nymphs" in Lydia, which float out into the middle of a lake, "dance" in time to flute music, and

then move back near the shore. Pliny the Elder, perhaps under Greek influence, tells (ii, 94, 209, 96) how certain small islands at Nymphaeum are called "Dancers," because they move in time to the dancing feet of the choruses upon them.

Natural phenomena, too, are "dancers." The seasons "dance through the year" (Philostratus the Elder, ii, 34, 1). The dawn is a dancer, for she has a "dancing place" on the island of Aeaëa (*Odyssey* xii, 3-4). A violent storm, with snow, is called a "snow dance" of the gods of love in the sky.¹⁴ This is to some extent paralleled by the "red sand-ghosts" which in the work of a modern writer¹⁵ dance "in giddy spirals." An echo "bounds" (the word is one commonly used of a dance) from a smooth or hard substance (Plato, *Phaedrus* 255 C). And, with a combination of metaphor and simile, Tryphiodorus (559-61) says that Enyo "like a hurricane" danced all night through the city of Troy. Flames, also, leap and "dance," (Theophrastus, *De Igne* xi, 69) as they do in the works of modern writers. The "dance of the atoms" in Lucretius (ii, 133 and ii, 114-120)¹⁶ may be a Greek concept; here we are reminded of the "perpetual dance of entities known as negative electrons around a positively charged nucleus" in the play *Wings Over Europe*, by Robert Nichols and Maurice Browne.¹⁷

Even rivers sometimes dance. Achilles Tatius (iv, 18, 3), in his characteristically florid manner, says, "Our voyage seemed to be on a river that danced for joy." One recalls in this connection the "dancing water" of Sicilian folk tales,¹⁸ and the "dancing bubbles" of Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (Canto III, 12).

Various abstractions dance through the world. Evil, in particular, "dances" into cities or over the land.¹⁹ Jealousy (Oppian, *Hal.* iv, 214-5) and envy (Euripides, Fragment 394, Nauck) revel and dance among men, and bring them to destruction. Fear and "fear's dark daughter" dance in the soul of men (Sophocles, Fragment 695, Nauck). Love is a dancer (*Anth. Plan.* i, 288). Madness dances (Oppian, *Hal.* iv, 213-5; Euripides, *Herc. Fur.* 891-9); and human beings who go

mad are said to "dance" their madness.²⁰ More pleasantly, friendship, in the words of Epicurus (Fragment lii, Bailey), "goes dancing around the inhabited world, bidding us all awake to a blessed life." Similar metaphors are found in modern writers—as, for instance, the metaphor of Fame as "dancing to meet" someone.²¹

Demons of one sort or another dance over helpless men (Euripides, *Phoen.* 352). This usage reminds us of the striking double metaphor in Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone*:²² "The devil's dance of the Indian Diamond has threaded its way to London." The Furies also dance (Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1189; Euripides, *Orestes* 582), sometimes weaving a spell which binds the victim with dread potency (Aeschylus, *Eumen.* 306-45), sometimes rushing into the victim's breast and leaping and whirling madly there (Philostratus, *Imag.* ii, 23, 4-5).

Rather persistently in Greek literature, war is spoken of as a dance or as a dancer. Zeus is leader of "the dance that slew the giants."²³ Ares leads the fluteless "accursed dance" of war, a thiasos of chariots and war-steeds (Euripides, *Phoen.* 791-7). Warriors are "dancers of Enyo" (Nonnus, 28, 275), or "dancers of war" (Nonnus, 28, 304). In fact, one definition of *orchestes*, the word which usually means "dancer," is, as given by Hesychius (s.v.), "one who moves about nimbly in war." In Lycophron (*Alex.* 493), in the account of the killing of Ancaeus by the Calydonian Boar, the hero is called a "dancer," *orchestes*, as if the word were a synonym for "warrior"—"smiting with inescapable blow the dancer's ankle-bone." Penthesilea "came to the dance of war" in Troy (Tryphiodorus 35-6). The Trojans, in their eagerness to drag the wooden horse into the city, danced the "dance of Ares," (Tryphiodorus 379) or imitated the "dance" of cranes flying through the air (*Id.*, 352-5). Enyo, drunk with blood, danced all night through burning Troy (*Id.*, 559-61). Centuries later, a dancing girl who mimed the tale of Hector's life and death was called a "dancing Enyo" (*Anth. Plan.* i, 287). Theseus threatened Thebes with the "shield-bearing

komos of battle if the dead chieftains' bodies remained unburied (Euripides, *Suppliants* 390). The dying Neoptolemus, fighting against the darts which are overwhelming him, dances a "dread war dance" (Euripides, *Andromache* 1135). There is added significance in the fact that the word for "war dance" here is the word that denotes the Pyrrhic dance; and Neoptolemus' alternative name was Pyrrhus.

In a famous passage in the *Iliad* (xvi, 617-8), Aeneas says to Meriones: "If I had only struck you, Meriones, you who are a dancer, my spear would have quickly put an end to your dancing." This is usually taken to refer merely to Meriones' orchestric skill and to his agility on this occasion; but in view of the other passages cited it seems to have a particular aptness in a scene of combat. One recalls in this connection that a form of wrestling was actually known as *orchestopale*—"dance-wrestling."

In historic times the Mossynoecians, we are told, line up like choral dancers, and dance off, singing, against the enemy (Xenophon, *Anab.* v, 4, 12). Similarly, the well trained, well disciplined armies of the Persians are likened to skilled dancers (Xenophon, *Cyropaed.* i, 6, 18; iii, 3, 30). Demosthenes calls the war leader, Philip, a *choregos*, the technical term for a man who sponsored and trained a group of choral dancers and singers (ix, 60; xix, 216). In Polybius' time, *choregia* had become an accepted term for "supplies of war" (Polybius i, 16, 6; 17, 5; 18, 5; 18, 9; iv, 71, 10 etc.) and *choregoi* for "furnish supplies for war" (*Id.* i, 83, 7; iii, 68, 8; v, 42, 7). A late writer says that Alexander the Great "danced over everything under the sun" (Himerius, *Ecl.* ii, 18) in making his conquests. Another tells how a king, in battle against a Roman general, "danced the man-slaying dance of Enyalios."²⁴

In Thessaly, generals were called "chief dancers" (Lucian, *On the Dance* 14), and a famous inscription read: "This statue was erected at public expense to commemorate Ilion's well-danced victory."

Victory herself is a dancer, in both literature and art (Pausanias V, xi, 2). Peace, too,

dances. She is specifically called *despoina choron*, "Lady of the Dance" (Aristophanes, *Peace* 976). She brings the dance as her gift to men after war,²⁵ and she participates in it (Aristophanes, *Peace* 775-818 and *passim*).

When we come to human beings, we find words for "dance" used of them in an amazing variety of ways. It is difficult to tell at times whether the "dancing" is metaphorical or actual, in the mind of the Greek. To him, *orchesthai*, *choreuein*, and similar words seem to have meant something like "to make any series of movements, however simple, and involving any part or parts of the body, provided the movements be harmonious and rhythmical." He speaks of "dancing" (i.e., celebrating) a wedding (Euripides, *Iph. Aul.* 1057), and, of course, he calls the wedding procession a dance. The ceremonial wailing for the dead, with accompanying rending of the cheeks and hair, is to him a dance (Euripides, *Suppl.* 75). He tells of "dancing" (celebrating) the games (Polybius iv, 20, 9), and "dancing" (celebrating) the rites of the Muses (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 356). To reveal sacred mysteries, whether legitimately, in an initiation, or blasphemously, in violation of the oath of secrecy, is to "dance them out." A worshipper of a divinity is a "dancer" of that divinity (Plato, *Phaedrus* 252 D); to "dance" Phoebus (Pindar, *Isth.* i, 7) or Iacchus (Sophocles, *Antigone* 1154) is to worship those divinities; to "dance" Cithaeron is to honor that mountain with song and dance (Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 1094); and "to dance," *choreuein*, is frequently a general term for "to engage in acts of worship" (Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 895; Euripides, *Bacch.* 182). A Muse or a divinity is often invoked to dance with worshippers (Aristophanes, *Peace* 775-6; 816-7). Conversely, a divinity may "dance out" or "drive out" of the cult a votary who is not acceptable for one reason or another; Artemis, for instance, "danced out" Merope, and turned her into a deer (Euripides, *Helen* 381-3).

A messenger "dances" his news.²⁶ One who is well versed in something "dances" in it (Plato, *Theaet.* 173 C). A man captured by robbers who do not understand Greek

tries to plead with them by "dancing out his dirge" with gestures (Achilles Tatius iii, 10, 4). To burst into a house is to "dance" into it (Euripides, *Phoen.* 352; Plutarch ii, 772 F). To make a riotous assault upon something is to "dance against" it (Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 982). To go rushing off to other cities is to "dance into" them (Plato, *Laws* xii, 950 A), or to "dance out" of one's own city (Euripides, *Androm.* 603). To be desirous of a woman is to "dance the satyr" (Achilles Tatius ii, 37, 2). To treat spitefully or to insult is to "dance against" or "dance over" or "dance up to."²⁷ To jump in joy is to "dance up" (Euripides, *Suppl.* 719)—we say, "jump up and down." To exult is to "dance forth" (Heliodorus x, 38) or to "dance joy" (Euripides, *Phoen.* 316). To interrupt is to "dance in upon" (*Anth. Pal.* vii, 186, 3).

In a slightly different sense, to "dance away" or "dance out" is to lose something because of an improper dance, or to dishonor something or somebody with a dance. The prime example of the first of these is Hippocles, who by a long-continued and highly undignified dance offended his prospective father-in-law to such an extent that he lost his bride (Herodotus vi, 129). A good instance of the second is furnished by the Athenians whom Apollonius of Tyana publicly rebuked for "dancing away" the brave warriors of Salamis and other national heroes by their unseemly "writhings" in the theater, at the festival of Dionysus (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* iv, 21).

The dance is constantly used as a symbol of all that is harmonious, fitting, seemly; and the opposite to all of this is *achoreutos*—"unfitting for the dance." The story of Athena, the flutes, and Marsyas, for instance, is called idle, foolish, unworthy—*achoreutos* (Athenaeus xiv, 617 A).

The Romans, imitating the Greeks, have similar metaphorical usages. A poet speaks of his literary activity as "worshipping Helicon" and "entwining" his hands "in the Muses' dance" (Propertius iii, 5, 19-20). In a prose romance, a girl stirring a pot on the fire, and endeavoring to attract a young man's attention at the same time, sways her

shoulders and undulates her hips rhythmically; she is spoken of as dancing, although she is standing still (Apuleius, *Met.* ii).

Shakespeare, in *Henry VI*, Part II, Act IV, Scene 1, 127, seems at first glance to have a usage that recalls this loose use of the word *dance*; Suffolk says he would rather have his head "dance upon a bloody pole" than submit to indignity. The construction here, however, is rather an ellipsis than a metaphor; the reference is really to the dancing of an exultant enemy, carrying the severed head upon a pole.

Rhythmos and words derived from it are frequently used in a highly metaphorical way. For instance, we read of the "rhythm" of the shape of the foot (Theophrastus, *Char.* ii, 7), of surgical operations (Hippocrates, *In the Surgery* iv), of the reason (Callimachus, *Epigr.* 44, 5), of evil (Euripides, *Suppl.* 94), of murder (Euripides, *Cyclops* 398), of death (Euripides, *Electra* 772). The verb *rhythmizein*, "to bring into rhythm," is used to denote "educate children," "train the mind," "order one's thoughts," "prepare one's self for," "control one's grief," "make up the face," "arrange the hair," and innumerable other activities.

A *choregos* comes to mean one who supplies the costs for anything. Later, in astrological connotations, it means a "patron." In medical parlance it means a trunk vein (Oribasius 45, 18, 23, 24, 25), or a special bandage used in cases of trepanning (Oribasius 46, 19, 6 and 7). *Choregeion* is used for a school, or a treasury, or revenue. *Choregein* and its compounds come to denote "supply," "furnish," "minister to," "provide for," "support" (anything from a wife to a philosophical doctrine), "spend lavishly," and "take the lead." In Philostratus (*Imag.* ii, 3, 4), *choregia* is applied to something that "feeds" or augments an illness.

Similarly, *pedan*, *hallesthai*, *skirtan*, and other words meaning "leap," "skip," etc., usually denoting an actual dance, are often used metaphorically; for instance, lances "leap" in Euripides, *Herc. Fur.* 65-6.

Words for "dancer" or "chorus of dancers" are applied not only to worshippers of a god,

but also to a group of philosophers (Plato, *Theaet.* 173 B), disciples (Libanius, *Or.* 54, 38), listeners (Plato, *Protag.* 315 B), hunters (Euripides, *Hippolyt.* 55), boys, young men, friends (Plato, *Laws* i, 64 B; Euripides, *Troad.* 1184), children in a family,²⁹ citizens in a state,²⁹ or persons of a particular type—e.g., misanthropes (Plato, *Protag.* 327 D). In an interesting simile, Athenaeus tells (iv. 152 B) of the Celts sitting in a circle at dinner, with the most powerful or the richest man, "like a leader of the chorus," sitting in their midst.

The human soul dances,³⁰ and the "germs of the soul" dance (Plato, *Phaedrus* 251 D). The spirit of a prophet dances as he speaks his words of prophecy (*Trag. Aesp.* Nauck 176). The mind dances in surprise (Athenaeus i, 21 A). We note the somewhat different modern usage of thoughts dancing, or facts or words or phrases dancing in a person's mind.³¹ The heart dances in fear,³² foreboding (Euripides, *Bacch.* 1228), anger (Plato, *Timaeus* 70 D), excitement (*Ibid.*, 70 C), anticipation,³³ inspiration (Plato, *Symp.* 215 E), joy (Athenaeus i, 21 A; Euripides, *Bacch.* 1288), or love.³⁴

The human eye "dances" or twitches when something important is about to happen.³⁵ Frequently, of course, the eyes dance for joy (Philostratus, *Imag.* ii, 34, 3); compare the modern usage in Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*:³⁶ "... joy danced in his silent countenance." The mouth, moving along the reeds of a Pan-pipe, dances (Achilles Tatius viii, 6, 7). A row of teeth is a "chorus" (Galen, *Use of Parts* II, 8; Achilles Tatius 469). Throbbing arteries and veins dance;³⁷ and pain dances through the head of a dying man (Euripides, *Hippolyt.* 1351-2).

With grim imagination, both Greeks and Romans often called the writhings of a tortured person a dance. In fact, on one occasion the meaning of an oracle turned upon such a metaphor (Dionysius Hal. vii, 68, 3 to 69, 2). This gruesome figure recalls to mind the medieval, Renaissance, and modern jests in which the jerking motions of a hanged man are termed "dancing on the air."³⁸ In the Septuagint (IV. *Macc.* 15, 20), a place where

a large number of Hebrew children were tortured is called, from their agonized contortions, a "dance place." Less horribly, the involuntary movements of a man stung by a gnat are called a dance (Achilles Tatius ii, 22, 3).

Several proverbs and epigrammatic expressions involving the dance have come down to us. "Where in the dance are we?" (Plato, *Euthydem.* 279 C) is like our "Where in the world are we?" "A pig comes dancing in" (Diogenianus 8, 60) is similar to our expression "a bull in a china shop"; and "to dance into the bees" (Zenobius 3, 53) is equivalent to our "to raise a hornet's nest." "To look a Pyrrhic dance" is Aristophanes' famous expression (*Birds* 1169) for "to look daggers"; and "the Pyrrhic dance of Cinesias" (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 152-3) is the excessive gesticulation of that poet, as he recites his own verse. The Romans imitate these Greek metaphors. Cicero, for instance, in speaking of the Greek Hegesias, says that he "dances," that is, speaks jerkily (*Orator* 67, 226). Similarly, the Romans used *tripudium*, a word usually denoting a ritual dance, as a sort of technical term for a favorable omen in connection with the feeding of the sacred chickens; when the birds ate so greedily that the grain leaped from their beaks and pattered on the floor of the coop, the phenomenon was called a *tripudium* (Cicero, *De Div.* i, 15, 28; ii, 34, 73; ii, 36, 77). The "dancing" of eulogies to the emperor mentioned in Pliny's *Panegyric* (54, 1) is probably literal rather than metaphorical, and reflects the exaggerations of the pantomimic dancers of his day.

Animals are frequently spoken of as dancing. Occasionally such references are to actual dances—as in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* x, 30, 23, 58-60) and Tryphiodorus.³⁹ Of this type are the "dances" of the swans described in Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* i, v); the "dance" of owls as they lure their prey (Aelian, *Hist. An.* i, 20); the "dance" performed by monkeys in derision over a dead panther (Aelian, *Nat. An.* v, 54); and the dance of trained elephants (*Ibid.*, ii, 11) or horses (Athenaeus xii, 520 C). More truly figurative is the "dancing" of hunted leopards (Oppian, *Cyn.*

iv, 342), or that of the wild Beasts of the forest, which join in the ecstatic orgies of Dionysus (Euripides, *Bacch.* 727; Pindar, Fragment 208 Sgndys). A savage lion, roaring and tossing its mane, is said to have "taught itself the dance of Rhea" (*Anth. Pal.* vi, 218). We read of a chorus of bees (Aelian, *Nat. An.* v, 13), a chorus of cicadas (*Ibid.*, i, 20; Plato, *Phaedrus* 230 C), a chorus of doves (Euripides, *Ion* 1197), a chorus of migrating cranes (Oppian, *Hal.* i, 620-2), or a "wandering dance" of cranes (Tryphiodorus 352-5). The animals which followed the singing Orpheus are sometimes called a chorus (Plato, *Protag.* 315 B), as are also the sheep which "danced" joyously around the heroine of a Greek romance (Longus ii, 29, 1). Fish are often spoken of as "dancing" in the waves.⁴⁰ One of the Anacreontic lyrics (56 Bergk) is particularly noteworthy for this metaphorical usage. In it, a chorus of fish is mentioned, and dolphins are called *choreutai*, or "members of the chorus." In the *Helen* of Euripides (1454), a boat is called the *choregus*, or "director," of a chorus of dancing dolphins. In the *Electra* of the same writer (432-41), ships dance with Nereids and dolphins; and in Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* (716-8), a boat "bounds along" in the water, following the Nereids. Dolphins also dance in the romantic pages of Achilles Tatius (i, 2, 13). Theopompus (*ap.* Athenaeus vii, 308 A) refers to a chorus of mullets. Aelian speaks at some length (*Nat. An.* i, 30) of the great intelligence of squills, which, when caught, twist and "dance," turning their saw-tooth probosces against their captors. When another fish tries to swallow them, he says, the squills "dance" in the larger fish's throat, and kill it. Oppian, in the *Halieutica*, makes frequent use of the figure. He speaks of a chorus of fishes (i, 65-6), and of a fish just taken out of the water as a "dancer" (i, 61). He says that fish leap as if in a dance when they see sea-birds approaching (i, 166); that when a storm is past they rush through the water as if dancing (i, 472); and that they "dance" to meet their feeder (iii, 250).

As in the case of human beings, parts of

the bodies of animals are sometimes spoken of as "dancing" when they twitch in pain or as a symptom of a disease (Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* viii, 24, 2; Absyrt. in Hippiastr., p. 164).

Thus far we have been considering live animals. By an understandable extension of the metaphor, the Greek often declared that cooked food came "dancing" in to the dinner table. Athenaeus, for instance, quoting and distorting Sophocles (vii, 277 B), tells how a chorus of fish come "dancing" in to form part of a feast, wagging their tails at the casseroles. A sea-perch comes "dancing in with a swoop" (Athenaeus iv, 157 A; cf. Diph. 64, 4); and fish have been "presented with sauce by their choregus" (Anaxippus i, 35). The comic poet Euboulus sang of fish "dancing" with lambs' entrails in a frying pan (Athenaeus iii, 108 B). But fish is not the only food that makes so dramatic an entry. Even the lowly lupine "dances in" (Athenaeus ii, 55 D). An unknown comic poet, in a fragment preserved on a bit of papyrus,⁴¹ is expansive: "Truffle," he says, "comes dancing in," "artichoke makes an entrance," "beet keeps a certain rhythm," and all the beautiful foods "make an appearance." Sometimes a whole meal "dances" to the table—for instance, a luncheon, in Athenaeus (vi, 230 F).

Nor does the metaphor stop with food. Even the cooking pots and other utensils, harmoniously arranged in the well-ordered kitchen, form a "dance," according to Xenophon (*Oec.* viii, 3); and the same writer likens an orderly and well-managed home to the dancing of a chorus.

Plants, and growing things in general, are often said to "dance." Ancient legends of trees "dancing" to the music of an Orpheus (Apollonius Rhod. i, 26-31; cf. Euripides, *Bacch.* 561-4) or an Amphion are echoed in Tennyson's poem *Amphion*, especially lines 23-62. The movement of a tree in the wind is called "dancing" in both ancient and modern literature. The Greek even spoke of the arrangement of trees in an orchard as a kind of rhythmic dance (Theophrastus, *Causes of Plants* iii, 7, 9). Ivy, too, he thought of as "dancing" over a stone wall or other surface,

either with "twisted, creeping foot" (*Anth. Pal.* xi, 33, 1), or with "soft foot" (*Ibid.* vii, 36, 2). One of the most striking instances of "dancing" plants, however, occurs in a fragment of Isogonus of Nicaea (*Frag. Hist. Gr.*, Mueller, Vol. IV, 436). In Lydia, in a lake sacred to the Nymphs, says this author, there are many reeds; at a yearly festival there are sacrifices and dances on the shore of the lake, whereupon "all the reeds dance." A similar passage in Strabo (xiii, 626), dealing with the sanctuary of Artemis Kolone, near Sardis, presents textual difficulties; whether Strabo says that the "reeds" danced, or the "baskets," or the "apes," or the "goblins," he seems to have in mind the same sanctuary as that mentioned in Isogonus. A. B. Cook² has treated the subject extensively. He connects the story of Strabo and that of Isogonus with the tales of "floating" and "dancing" islands in Pliny and Varro, and believes that the dancing of the votaries on the shore did "communicate vibrations to floating reed-mats on the lake, and set them in motion."

Inanimate objects of all sorts, under widely varying circumstances, are spoken of as dancing, even as they are in the works of modern writers. Athenaeus (vi, 231 D) says that in early times silver and gold were scarce among the Greeks, but that, later, silver "danced merrily in." In the *Iliad* (xiv, 455), a spear "leaps" (a word usually connoting a dance) from the hand of Polydamas. Achilles Tatius more than once uses the metaphor of boats "dancing" over the waves (iii, 4, 3; iv, 18, 3). At a dinner party, a cup of rich workmanship "dances in a circle" among the assembled guests (*Antiphanes, ap. Athenaeus* xi, 781 E); but apparently the general effect is somewhat different from the "dance" in Tobias Smollett's *Expedition of Humphrey Clinker*:³ "The claret continued to circulate without interruption, till the glasses seemed to dance upon the table." Pratinas (i, 9-10 Bergk) bids a flute "dance" in honor of Dionysus. A Pan-pipe is a *chorus* of reeds (Achilles Tatius viii, 6, 4; Colluthus 125); and the pillars of a portico form a *chorus*, lined up side by side like dancers (Achilles Tatius i, 15, 1). A breastplate "has rhythm"

(Xenophon, *Mem.* iii, 10, 10); so have garments (Euripides, *Heracl.* 130), a sandal (Theophrastus, *Char.* ii, 7), a walking-stick (Athenaeus xii, 544 F), and the letters of the alphabet (Herodotus v, 58).

We have already noted the famous passage in Strabo concerning the sanctuary of Artemis Kolone, in Lydia. In that account, most of the manuscripts of the author contain the words, "They say that here the baskets (*tous kalathous*) dance." Eustathius, commenting on the *Odyssey* (1627, 49 F), speaks of "baskets like those of Demeter, which, so the story goes, dance in a certain mystery ritual in honor of Demeter." Whether we are confronted here with evidence of some sort of ritualistic hocus-pocus; or whether in both cults the "baskets" are young girls wearing headaddresses representing reeds, rushes, or basketwork, as Cook thinks;⁴ or whether the "baskets" were carried in a dance, we do not know. But there is certainly an element of metaphor deeply underlying both accounts.

The extent to which the ideal of the dance, as orderly, harmonious arrangement or motion of any sort, permeates all of Greek thought, is surely abundantly evident from the examples cited in this paper, random and scattering as they are. Perhaps the Greek was not actively conscious that most of these examples are actually metaphors; for to him the whole world did indeed dance.

NOTES

¹ *Wuthering Heights*, Everyman's Library, New York, Dutton, 1940, 212.

² *The Romance of Leonardo da Vinci*, translated from the Russian by B. G. Guernsey. New York, The Hermitage Press, The Hermitage Reprints, no date, pp. 428 and 536.

³ Anne Morrow Lindbergh, *The Steep Ascent*. New York, Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1944, pp. 74-76, 77, 87.

⁴ Henry Harmon Chamberlin, "Classics or Chaos," *Classical Journal* xl, 1944-45, 322.

⁵ London and Glasgow, Gowers and Gray, Ltd., 1911.

⁶ New York, The Modern Library, 1929.

⁷ Fritz Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1926, 19.

⁸ W. O. E. Osterley, *The Sacred Dance*, New York, Macmillan, 1923, pp. 23 and 69-72.

⁹ Carter Dickson, *The Gilded Man*, New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1942, 180.

¹⁰ C. S. Lewis, *Out of the Silent Planet*, New York, Macmillan, 1943, 174.

- ¹¹ *Op. cit.* (see note 2), p. 350.
¹² *Liber Psalmorum cum Canticis Breviarii Romani*, New York, Benziger Bros., Inc., 1945.
¹³ Helen MacInness, *While Still We Live*, Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1944, p. 159.
¹⁴ D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, Vol. 1, Poetry. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1942. No. 140, line 86.
¹⁵ Robert Graves, *Hercules, My Shipmate*. New York, Creative Age Press, Inc., 1945, p. 396.
¹⁶ Cf. Clyde Murley, "Behavior Patterns of Atoms Among the Ancients," *Classical Outlook* xxiii, 1945-46, 71-72.
¹⁷ New York, Covici-Friede, 1929, p. 37.
¹⁸ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*. Cambridge, University Press, 1914-1940, Vol. II, 1008-1009.
¹⁹ Tryphiodorus, 313-314; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* iv, 6; Plato, *Republic* vi, 491 C.
²⁰ Euripides, *Herc. Fur.* 879; cf. the story of the daughters of Proetus and that of the daughters of Minyas, who were visited with dance mania.
²¹ E. Barrington, *Glorious Apollo*, London, Harrap, 1935, p. 73.
²² Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone and the Woman in White*, New York, The Modern Library, 1937, p. 156.
²³ Page, *op. cit.* (see note 14), Vol. I, No. 140 B, line 13.
²⁴ Page, *op. cit.* (see note 14), Vol. I, No. 144.
²⁵ Euripides, *Fragment* 453, Nauck, 7-8; Tryphiodorus 429.
²⁶ Aeschylus, *Agam.* 31; cf. Lillian B. Lawler, "The Messenger's Dance," *Classical Outlook* xxii, 1944-45, 59-61.
²⁷ Herodotus iii, 151; Euripides, *Orestes* 582; LXX, *Zach.* xii, 10; Plutarch ii, 46 B, 57 A.
²⁸ Euripides, *Herc. Fur.* 925; used also of the Asclepiads, in Aristides, *Orat.* xxxviii, 23.
²⁹ Stobaeus, *Peri Gamon* 73, 24; Hierocles the Stoic, p. 35 Praechter; Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 14, 4.
³⁰ Theognis 963; Archilochus xiv, 7; Plato, *Ion* 536 B, C.
³¹ Cf. Sir Walter Scott, *The Talisman*, Chapter IV.
³² Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 161, 166, 1023; Plato, *Laws* vii, 791 A; Athenaeus xv, 688 B; Plutarch ii, 83 B.
³³ Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1391-92; Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* 669 A.
³⁴ Achilles Tatius ii, 37, 10; cf. Robert Graves (see note 15), 283.
³⁵ Theocritus iii, 37; cf. Plautus, *Pseud.* i, 1, 105.
³⁶ Everyman's Library, New York, Dutton, Vol. II, p. 155.
³⁷ Plato, *Phaedrus* 251 D; Hippocrates, *Epid.* 7, 30; cf. Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights* (see note 1), p. 100.
³⁸ Merezkowski, *op. cit.* (see note 2), p. 345.
³⁹ 352-353. Cf. the "waltz" of the "three lunatic hares" in John Buchan's *Huntingtower*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922, p. 29. Cf. also the "dancing" of cattle in their stalls during the outbreaks of dance mania in medieval Europe; Alfred Martin, "Geschichte der Tanzkrankheit in Deutschland," *Zeitschrift, Verein für Volkskunde*, Vol. 24, 1914, p. 131.
⁴⁰ Aeschylus, *Agam.*, 299; Sophocles, *Fragment* 695; Arion 5; Achaëus 27.
⁴¹ Page (see note 14), Vol. I, 49, p. 236.
⁴² *Op. cit.* (see note 18), Vol. III, pp. 988-1015.
⁴³ New York, Everyman's Library, E. P. Dutton Co., No. 975, 1943, p. 217.
⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* (see note 18), Vol. III, 996-1012.

THE "AUTHOR" OF CHEEVER'S ACCIDENCE

THE TITLE PAGE of the first Latin text written and published in America reads as follows:

A SHORT/ INTRODUCTION/ to the/ LATIN TONGUE, For the Use of the Lower Forms in/ the Latin School./ Being the Accidence Abbridg'd and/ Compiled in that most easy and/ accurate Method, wherein the/ Famous Mr. Ezekiel Cheever taught;/ and which he found the most/ advantageous by Seventy years/ experience./ BOSTON in N.E./ Printed by B. Green, for Benj. Eliot, at/ his Shop under the Town-house. 1709.¹

Familiarly known as "Cheever's Accidence," the little volume set a record of continuous use which has never been surpassed by any American-written Latin text. By 1785 nineteen numbered editions and four additional reprints had extended the

"Cheeverian Method" throughout all New England and possibly other parts of Colonial America.² After the sixteenth edition President Ezra Stiles of Yale wrote: "He (Cheever) very much formed & established the New England pronunciation of Latin & Greek."³ Although the high point of this influence, reached in 1785 with four separate imprints, was undoubtedly followed by a decline, it was at least partially revived in the next century by one reprint in 1806 and another in 1838.⁴ Since he began teaching in 1638⁵ Cheever and his "method" helped to mold the formative mind of Young America for two hundred years.⁶ No other American teacher can boast such a record.

Because of his reputation as the most

famous of Colonial schoolmasters and because of his importance as our "first great leader in secondary education,"⁷ Cheever and his *Accidence* have received considerable biographical and bibliographical attention.⁸ In spite of this it was not until nearly two hundred years after the first appearance of the book that attention was called to the fact that Cheever, who died in 1708,⁹ could not have been the actual "author" of it in its printed form. The title page makes it clear that it was an abridgment and compilation of the Latin *accidence* according to Cheever's "Method," but does not name him or any one else either as author or editor. In 1904 George E. Littlefield cited the words added to the title page of the 1724 edition, "The Third Edition Revised and Corrected by the Author,"¹⁰ and asked "Who then was the author of this little manual . . . for so many years . . . known as Cheever's Latin *Accidence*?" The question can now be answered on the basis of conclusive evidence.

Littlefield suggested three possible candidates for the editorship: Ezekiel Cheever's son, the Rev. Samuel Cheever of Marblehead; Ezekiel Lewis, grandson of the elder Cheever and his assistant at the Latin School for about four years after 1699; and Nathaniel Williams, assistant to Cheever from 1703 to 1708 and his successor in the headmastership.¹¹ Samuel Cheever, according to John Barnard, was a good classical scholar,¹² but it seems unlikely that he would have taken time from his parochial duties in Marblehead to prepare for the press an elementary textbook for a school in Boston. Moreover, he died in 1724, but the title page of the 1737 edition of the *Accidence* refers to its having been revised and corrected by the "Author." Lewis, on the other hand, had taught under Cheever and must have known his method at first hand. Several years before the *Accidence* came out, however, he had given up pedagogy and entered business.¹³ It is hard to see why in 1708 or 1709 he should have devoted himself to a book intended for the "Lower Forms of the Latin School."

In Williams' case, however, it is obvious that he had both a motive and an opportunity

for working on the *Accidence*. He succeeded Lewis as assistant at the Latin School,¹⁴ and might therefore have welcomed a textbook for the "Lower Forms." As Cheever's assistant during the last five years of the Master's life he must have become thoroughly familiar with his "easy and accurate Method." Of Littlefield's three candidates for the editorship, then, on the basis of probability Williams is by all odds the best qualified.

Fortunately his claim need not rest on mere probability and can be supported by convincing evidence. To begin with, there is an important difference between the title pages of the 1737 and 1750 editions.¹⁵ The former has the words "Revised and Corrected by the Author;" the latter does not. Now Williams died in January, 1737/8. If he was the "Author," this fact would explain the title-page variation in 1750, and in all subsequent extant editions. Lewis lived until 1755.¹⁶ During that year another edition, the seventh, was published in Boston.¹⁷ It too omits the words on the title page, "Revised and Corrected by the Author." If Lewis was that "Author," why should the omission from the 1750 and 1755 title pages have been made?

Further evidence to support Williams' editorship is found in the two known copies of the first edition, both of which have the appearance of being in their original boards. The text of only one is complete.¹⁸ The other has a unique arrangement not found in the extant copies of any other edition.¹⁹ It has blank pages interpolated between the leaves of the text. On many of these, which are of the same size as the leaves, and also between some of the lines of the text, there are notations written in ink by two different hands. Both of these are old style and the differences between the two are obvious even to an untrained eye. The notations written in Hand #1 are much more numerous than those of Hand #2 and only those of the former bear close resemblance to the printed text of the second edition (Boston, 1713).²⁰ Hand #1 has twenty-two different notations for a total of ninety-six lines. Hand #2 has eleven different notations for a total of fifty-one lines. Not a single entry by Hand

#2 shows any influence on the text of the second edition. Stating it another way, not a single entry by Hand #2 could have been copied from the second edition. That is not the case for Hand #1, as a few examples will illustrate.

Cheever 1709

Hand #1

Cheever 1713

p. 2

p. 2

The Genitive case is known by token Of, and answereth to this question, whose, or Whereof? as, *Doctrina Magistri, The learning of the Master.*

Sign written in over token.
(Line drawn through token.)

The Genitive case is known by this Sign, Of, or 's.
(Rest omitted.)

(Not found.)

Opp. p. 16

p. 6

(Not in logical place.)
Neuters also in *ma* make the Dative and Ablative plur: in *matris* or *matibus*; as *poema* D: *matris*, *matibus*.

(In logical place.)
Neuters in *ma* make the Ablative *matris* and *matibus*.

p. 12

Opp. p. 12

p. 11

Comparison of irregular adjectives
bonus, malus, magnus, parvus, multus, multum.

Comparison of *nequam, maledicus, benevolus, magnificus, exterus, inferus, superus, posterus.*

List of Hand #1 added to list in 1709 in same order.

p. 13

Opp. p. 13

p. 12

A Pronoun is a part of speech much like to a Noun: which is used in shewing or rehearsing.

Much like to crossed out; used instead of written in above the line. Which is used is crossed out.

A Pronoun is a part of Speech instead of a Noun, used in shewing or rehearsing.

ADDED:

it implies a person; & admits not the sign *a* or the before it.

(Not added.)

The third example of these four is the only case where the notation of Hand #1 is identical with the text of 1713. Here new material is added, but it is impossible to say whether Hand #1 copied 1713 or was used as the basis for 1713. There are several other instances of this kind. In the second and fourth examples, however, Hand #1 contains material not found in 1713 and is obviously not copied from it. Conversely the resemblance is strong enough to suggest that the corresponding parts of 1713 were adapted from Hand #1. In line with this possibility it would be more consistent to assume that Hand #1, in the third example, formed the basis for 1713. Even the change of one word, *token* to *sign*, in the first example fits in with this assumption: the use of the word *sign* in the fourth example would seem to indicate that Hand #1 could use it without reference to 1713.

There are two other types of differences between 1709 and 1713, however, which neither fit in with this assumption nor dis-

prove it. The first type, represented by the first example and others not listed, shows that several lines in 1709 were deleted in 1713. In the other type 1713 contains material not found in 1709. Hand #1 shows no transition stage for either.²¹ In the first type the 1713 version is always shorter than that of 1709 and there is usually some change of phraseology. The omitted lines are never crossed out in 1709.

On the basis of these observations the weight of evidence would seem to support the conclusion that Hand #1, at least in part, represents a transitional stage between the first and second editions of 1709 and 1713. The writer of Hand #1, in anticipation of a second edition, seems to have had a special copy of the first edition made up with interpolated pages on which to make changes and additions. Some of these were incorporated in 1713, others were not. Other deletions and additions, most likely by the same writer, were made but were not recorded on

the interpolated pages.

Now Hand #1 was written by Nathaniel Williams.²² This establishes a probability amounting almost to a certainty that he was the "author" of the second edition of the *accidence* or at least supplied changes and corrections that were used in it.

Nor is this all. The role that Williams played is corroborated by other evidence. This is found in a letter which he wrote to the Reverend Nehemiah Hobart, Senior Fellow of Harvard College:²³

Rev^d Sr

Boston Jan 3 1711/12

These are to return thanks for your last, containing a Composure upon the late Damage suffered by the high Tide after so great a Loss by Fire, and your remarks upon the Verbs. As to the latter I return. As to *Inficio Vergo* & *Tondo*, they were Typographical mistakes, *Inf*: being english'd to *Dy*, or *stain Vergo* to *bend*, *Tondo* was intended *Tondeo*. As to the rest I have something to offer *Adoleo* was english'd by our Master to *grow up*. The same Authority I have for *Annuo* to *nod* and withal I offer to consideration whether to *Nod* forward be not a redundancy: Since the moving the head backward is not called a nodding but a beckning or calling a person to one. *Capesso* has also the same authority for it's english to take, so also the Dictionary & Mr Hool. The same Authority has *Coquo* to *seeth* & may it not be derived (as acc: to some) from *Con* & *aqua*? Neither is there any dressing of victuals but what is in a tolerable sense a *Seething*, since if the moisture be gon it is not *dress'd* but *spoild*. *Elisco* I take to be from the future of *Elasco*, whose root is *elēu* verso circum-ago involvo. *Puerasco* is english'd by the dictionary only to grow childish *Incido* acc: to the latter dictionary²⁴ has *Incasum* & I See not whence else the participle *Incasurus* can be deriv'd. Tho as to *adoleo* & *Capesso* I am fully of your mind and shall alter them accordingly.

The Inclosed is an acct of the Methods of Instruction in the School offer'd to your Correction alteratio or advancement²⁵ as you shall see meet. Your asserting a Propriety in Some of my Scholars has putt me upon it that they may be still more yours. And I pray Sr have pity upon the Languishing State of Gram^r Learning. When the hurry of my occasions pmitt or your inquirys putt me upon it I may be more particular and exact in it.

You were pleas'd to ask for Checkly, Welste'd Gray and Messinger Ch: has been at Colledge since Commencem^t: Wel: Gray, & Mess: have been ill & absent, but now they wait upon you.

I am waiting for your animadversions on the Themes sent you, both as to matter & method. I am Sr

Yr obliged Friend & humble Serv^t

N. W^m.

Superscription on verso: To the Rev^d Mr Nehemiah Hobart at Newton.

Clearly Williams was working in early 1712 on a printed list of verbs, and Hobart had commented on his work. That the list was the "Catalogue of Verbs" printed in the *Accidence* of 1709 seems clear. All the verbs mentioned in the letter, except *elisco* appear in the *Catalogue*. In it *inficio* is defined as *deny*, *vergo* as *bind*, and *tondo*, not *tondeo*, is given. In the 1713 edition *deny* is corrected to *die* or *stain*, and *bind* is corrected to *bend*. *Tondo*, however, is not corrected to *tondeo*. For the definition of *adoleo* as to *grow up*, Williams had the authority of "our Master" — pretty obviously Cheever, but he accepted Hobart's implied suggestion that the form should be *adoleo* not *adoleo*, and the substitution was made in the 1713 version. *Capesso*, about which Hobart made a suggestion which Williams approved, is defined to *take* in 1709 but changed to *undertake* in 1713. In the case of *annuo* and *coquo*, Williams defended the meanings to *nod* and to *seeth*, on the Master's authority, and these meanings appear in both the 1709 and 1713 editions. The definition of *puerasco* and the past participle *incasum*, both challenged by Hobart but upheld by "the Dictionary" and "the latter dictionary" respectively, are also printed in both editions.

Of the ten verbs mentioned in the letter nine appear in the "Catalogue of Verbs" in the editions of 1709 and 1713. In four cases the definitions or forms of the verbs are changed in the 1713 text and each change accords with Williams' letter. He defended his reading of four other words against Hobart's objections and these four are the same in both the first and the second editions. The correspondence between the letter and the two printed texts is too close to be coincidence.

The omission of *elisco*²⁶ from the printed texts and the failure to correct *tondo*, which Williams admitted was a typographical error, are puzzling but do not invalidate the conclusion that the list Williams was working on was the *Catalogue* in the *Accidence*. From the context of *elisco* in the letter, and from the fact that it is the only verb except *tondo* (*tondeo*) for which an English meaning is not

given, it seems probable that Hobart had asked Williams to give his opinion about it and possibly to consider including it in the text. As for *tondo*, which was not corrected in the editions of 1713, or 1724 or 1737, possibly Williams found it somewhere in his records of Cheever's teaching and out of deference to his "Master" decided to keep it after all in spite of Hobart. Or—and this is more likely the case—editors and printers being what they are, the correction of the "typographical mistake" was not made and the slip passed unnoticed after the printing was done in 1713.

In any case, whatever may be said of *elisco* and *tondo*, it would be absurd to conclude because of them that the list of verbs on which Williams was working early in 1712 was other than the one in the *Accidence*, in process of revision for the 1713 text. Such a conclusion would leave unexplained how nine of the ten words about which Williams wrote Hobart happened to be in the 1709 "Catalogue," and would require belief that somehow by pure chance Williams expressed about eight of them opinions which were reflected in the 1713 printing.²⁶

His letter, moreover, indicated that he was the "author" or editor responsible for the *Accidence* in 1709 as well as in 1713. His reference to typographical errors shows that he had been familiar with the copy used by the printer, and his use of the first person in "the same Authority I have" and elsewhere certainly implies that he considered himself responsible for the list of verbs which was part of the little textbook when it first came out.

The evidence presented in this paper proves, then, that Williams made revisions of the 1709 *Accidence*, in a copy specially prepared for that purpose, and that some of these revisions were incorporated in the 1713 edition. It proves also that he consulted Hobart about a list of verbs, which seems to have been the "Catalogue" as printed in 1709 and to have been regarded by him as his own work. He admitted that there were printer's errors in it, and agreed with Hobart about some desirable changes, all but one of which were made in the 1713 edition.

He rejected other amendments and no one of these appears in the 1713, 1724 or 1737 printings. The fact that the references on the title pages of these three editions to revisions by the "Author" are not repeated in those published after Williams' death is further evidence that the revisions were his. Finally, we know that since Williams had worked with Cheever and knew his "Method" he was well equipped to produce the book;²⁷ we know, too, that as Cheever's successor in the headmastership of the Latin School he had an obvious motive for doing so. All this taken together makes inescapable the conclusion that Nathaniel Williams was the "Author," or editor of the first five editions of the famous *Accidence*.²⁸ As such he deserves to be remembered, along with Cheever, as a major figure in the history of classical education in this country.

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NOTES

¹ Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*, 1 (Chicago, 1903), No. 1384.

² Approximately seventy copies of fourteen different editions have been found. An account of these and their locations will be given in another paper by John F. Latimer.

³ *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, edited by Franklin B. Dexter, 1 (New York, 1901), s.v. July 17, 1774. It would be tempting to suppose that Stiles who was born in North Haven in 1727 had used a copy of the *Accidence* as a student, but there is no evidence. It is even possible that he never saw a copy. In view of his known antiquarian interests, the brevity of his mention of it would seem to bear this out: "He (Cheever) printed an English *Accidence* still in use." (*Loc. cit.*) His knowledge of Cheever probably came from Reverend John Barnard and Reverend Samuel Maxwell, both students under Cheever in Boston (*Ibid.*, and s.v. April 25, 1772), and from Cotton Mather's Funeral Sermon on Cheever (Note 6, below).

⁴ The first of these was "Revised and corrected/by John Coffin, Teacher of Languages./ New York." The second was edited by Samuel Walker under the auspices of Winnisimmet Academy, located in what is now Chelsea, Massachusetts.

⁵ In New Haven, where he remained until 1650. From 1650 to 1661 he taught at Ipswich, Massachusetts; from 1661 to 1670 in Charlestown, and in Boston from 1671 until a few months before his death on

August 21, 1708. He was born in London on January 25, 1614/15. For an account of Cheever and the main sources of information about him see John F. Latimer, "Ezekiel Cheever and His Accidence," in *Classical Weekly*, 43, (1949-50), 179-183.

⁶ Cotton Mather, in *Corderius Americanus . . . a Funeral Sermon upon Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, . . .* (Boston, 1708), gives the earliest account of this influence and pays the first public tribute to it. For other references see Latimer, *op. cit.*

⁷ William J. Cooper, "Ezekiel Cheever," in *Secondary Education*, IV (January, 1935), 7.

⁸ The first modern account was by Henry Barnard, "Biographical Sketch of Ezekiel Cheever, with Notes on the Free Schools and Early School-Books of New England," reprinted from the *American Journal of Education*, 1 (March, 1856). A very readable biography is: *Ezekiel Cheever, Schoolmaster* (Boston, 1904), by Elizabeth P. Gould. It contains very little information about the *Accidence*. The most complete listing of the various editions is found in Charles Evans: *American Bibliography*, I-xii (Chicago, 1903-34), *passim*. For a brief account of Cheever's life see Thomas Woody: "Ezekiel Cheever," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV (New York, 1930), 47-48.

⁹ See Note 5, above.

¹⁰ These words also appeared: "To which are added a Catalogue of Irregular Nouns and of Verbs/disposed Alphabetically." This notation is found in the second and all other extant editions except the first, with a correction of "are" to "is" in the fifth and all subsequent editions. The catalog of irregular verbs was in the first edition, but with no indication of that fact on the title page. See Littlefield's valuable *Early Schools and School-Books of New England* (Boston, 1904), p. 254.

¹¹ Littlefield, *op. cit.*, p. 254; Pauline Holmes, *A Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School, 1635-1935* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 114-115, 96; Sibley's *Harvard Graduates: Biographical Sketches of those who Attended Harvard College, . . .* edited by Clifford K. Shipton, IV (Cambridge, 1933), 242-245.

¹² Littlefield, p. 254.

¹³ Sibley, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

¹⁴ Sibley, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

¹⁵ Both were "Printed for D. Henchman" in Boston.

¹⁶ For Lewis: Sibley, *op. cit.*, p. 245; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. VIII, p. 47. For Williams: Sibley, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

¹⁷ Printed by B. Edes and J. Gill.

¹⁸ In the New York Public Library. This is the Brinley copy.

¹⁹ In the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

²⁰ Except for minor typographical differences the second, third and fifth editions are essentially identical. For the sake of brevity only the second edition is compared with Hand #1 and the first edition. No copy of the fourth edition (Boston, 1734) has been located.

²¹ On page 13 of 1713 the declension of *isthic* or *istic* is given. On page 41, under a section on "The Rules of Agreement" this rule is found: "If there be no

Nominative Case between the relative and the Verb, the relative must be the Nominative case to the Verb." In these two examples and in several others there is nothing in 1709 or Hand #1 that corresponds to the additions in 1713.

²² A photostat of Hand #1 has been compared with the photostat of a manuscript of Williams, which is in the Houghton Library of Harvard University, by Miss Norma Cuthbert of the Huntington Library and Herbert C. Schulz, Curator of Manuscripts in the same institution. They agree that, in the words of Miss Cuthbert (letter of November 7, 1949), "Hand #1 . . . is without the slightest doubt the same as that of . . ." the Williams letter. The letter was printed by Kenneth B. Murdock, "The Teaching of Latin and Greek at the Boston Latin School in 1712," in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions*, xxvii (1927-32), 21-29, and reproduced in facsimile by Pauline Holmes, in *A Tercentenary History*, p. 261 (see note 11 above).

²³ The letter is in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. For Hobart see John L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, II (Cambridge, 1881) 235-238.

²⁴ It is interesting to note the contrast that Williams makes between "the Dictionary" and "the latter dictionary." He gives the former as authority for two words, *capesso* and *puerasco*, and possibly of a third, *coquo*. He gives the latter as authority for the form *incasum*, and thus implies that it is not found in "the Dictionary." With the information given by Williams as a clue, eight Latin dictionaries published before 1712 were examined. Only one of these did not contain the form *incasum*: *Bibliotheca Eliotae Eliotis Librarie* (London, 1548). Its definitions of *capesso* and *coquo* agree with those given by Williams. For *puerasco* it gives "to begin his boys age," which may not be the same as "to grow childish." Two of the other dictionaries, however, give the meaning as "to play the child or begin his boys age," where the second term seems to be a synonym for the first, which is closer to the meaning "to grow childish." These two are: *A Copious Dictionary in Three Parts* (Cambridge, 1674) by Francis Gouldman, and *Thomae Thomasi Dictionarium* (London, 1644). Of these three only Gouldman derives *coquo* from *con & aqua*. From the context in the letter "the Dictionary" does not have this derivation—another point in favor of *Bibliotheca Eliotae*.

²⁵ Since *elisco* was not found in any of the eight dictionaries mentioned in note 24, and does not occur in modern dictionaries, Williams was on safe ground in not printing it. His derivation of *elisco* (see above, p. 394) is very doubtful. The Latin equivalents of *ἐλίσσω* as given by Williams: "verso circumago involvo" are found in the same order and with the correct spelling *involvero* in *Cornelii Schrevelii Lexicon*, revised by Joseph Hill, John Entick, and William Bowyer (London, 1781), s.v. *ἐλίσσω*. An earlier edition of this work, first published in 1670, was probably his source.

²⁶ In the New York Public Library copy of the 1709

edition there is a page of errata following the "Catalogue of Verbs." On this page appear the corrections for *inficio*, *vergo*, *adoleo*, *capesso*, just as in the 1713 edition. If Williams in 1712 was working on the Catalogue, as his letter seems to make it clear that he was, his statement about *adoleo* and *capesso*—"I . . . shall alter them accordingly"—indicates that the page of errata was printed in 1712 or later and added to some copies at least of the 1709 edition, before the 1713 printing was made.

²⁷ The very plausible theory that he used a manuscript written by Cheever is stated succinctly by Littlefield (*op. cit.*, p. 251): "It is possible that Mr. Cheever in the early years of his teaching may have composed a scheme for teaching beginners in Latin, which he was constantly revising and correcting during his seventy years of teaching, but this scheme remained in manuscript and was not printed in his lifetime." This matter

will be examined more fully in the paper mentioned in note 2.

²⁸ Littlefield, as has been noted, suggested Williams as a possible editor of the *Accidence* (note 11 above). Clifford K. Shipton, "Nathanael Williams," in *DAB*, said: "There is some evidence that he [Williams] edited at least one edition of Cheever's famous *Accidence*." Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*, II (Chicago, 1904), No. 4197, said of the fifth edition (1737), "Littlefield is of the opinion that its author was Nathaniel Williams"—an inaccurate report of Littlefield's remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 254) which emphasized Ezekiel Lewis's claims to the editorship more than those of Williams. An indication of Williams's high reputation as a teacher is the fact that he was elected Rector of Yale College in 1723. He refused, probably for financial reasons. See Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*: . . . edited by Clifford K. Shipton, IV (Cambridge, 1933), 187.

A LETTER TO CLASSICISTS

I HAVE BEEN VERY FAVORABLY IMPRESSED by the efforts of the CAMWS to attack the problem of Latin teaching and Latin enrollments in the United States. It betrays both a realization of the fact that something is wrong, and a healthy determination to do something about it. The teachers of Latin feel that something is awry and should be set in order, but at the same time, they do not seem to grasp what the matter is.

While I am far from thinking I have found the ultimate solution, nevertheless, from what may be a rather different point of view, I should like to pass on a few thoughts, with the chance that they might help to crystallize opinion one way or the other. Not given to controversy, I have felt some trepidation in presenting these thoughts before scholars who may possibly have a more immediate view of the problems than I do. Two things, however, have influenced me to make this communication to the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*; first, the statement repeatedly made in it that suggestions with reference to this matter were not only welcome, but expressly invited; second the feeling that certain concrete suggestions of a somewhat different character might possibly provoke the thought of others, either pro or con.

I am a long-time member of CAMWS, and have taught the Classics for nearly twenty-five years. I have also taught German for quite some time, although not as long as the Classics. It has been to me a peculiar fascination and an interesting revelation during these years to watch the methods needed to master a language, both in my own case and in that of my students. At the same time, I have come to realize rather forcefully how inefficient and unsatisfactory, how utterly opposed to most learning processes, the old grammatical-translation methods were by which I began the study of (but never mastered) the Latin language. Only when, in my own case, I made some very definite changes in approach to Latin did I feel that I had begun to progress in my mastering of it to a degree consonant with the effort I was expending. It seemed with the old methods as if I were forever floundering around on the side roads, instead of proceeding by direct route to the goal which I hoped to reach, namely, the ability to read and write the language. Observing also in due course of time my students and their attitudes, and weighing their reactions in the light of what has been learned the past twenty-five years in the field of Linguistics, I began to deduce

certain principles of learning a language, which I should like to lay down here for what they may be worth to those of you who are wrestling with this same problem. At the outset then, I want to make it clear that I am at heart a Classicist and always shall be one, although some of the remarks I here make may seem at times a little strong.

Some criticisms that I would make with regard to specific methods and their underlying philosophy, and certain suggestions that I would offer are as follows:

First and foremost, Latin almost universally is not taught as a language. Why not? Why should Latin teachers in general persistently refuse to take it for what it is? So many seem to have forgotten altogether the word *lingua* which means tongue. They seem to disregard completely what constitutes a language in its entirety or what it implies. With all due respect to Caesar, Cicero, *et al.*, those authors are not the Latin Language. As is true of any language, so Latin is far too vast a thing to be comprehended in a few printed pages of a few writers. Latin is a foreign tongue, written and spoken for over 2000 years in time, under every conceivable vicissitude, and by every conceivable type of person. If there ever was a universal language, this alone has been it. And yet, except for a few isolated voices, only the Catholic church, apparently, has taken it at face value. Latin is no more Caesar and Vergil than English is Ben Jonson and Milton. Why not teach it for what it is, from the first day a student enters the classroom? Break this fatal spell of a few men, however meritorious their writings may be, when it leads to distortion of one's point of view, and helps to defeat the purpose which the study is intended to serve. Forget Caesar and Vergil for the time being, and begin the first lessons as if one were teaching a language, *i.e.*, a method of communication between individuals. Let the Latin be taught somewhat as a modern language, that is, actively for use, not passively as an exercise in grammar. Now please do not misunderstand me. I am not here advocating the so-called direct method. For beginners especially,

the first instruction will necessarily have to be altogether in English, and it is doubtful whether English can be entirely dispensed with in high school and undergraduate college work; but the important thing is that the student from the first learn his vocabulary actively, *i.e.*, learn words and idioms in such a way that he is potentially able at least to write, if not speak, those words. Passive vocabulary learning alone should be most severely discontenanced, except in the case perhaps of *hapax legomena* after one is more or less at home anywhere in the language. By the same token, most grammatical principles should be learned by unending repetition in use rather than by logical explanation, however clear and brilliant this latter may appear to the teacher.

One must recognize that Latin can, and should, be learned as a method of expressing, by means of words actively learned, those ideas which are in the pupils' minds, a process basically quite distinct and apart from having anything to do with the English language. As stated above, English will doubtless have to be the necessary tool in the beginning, a sort of wedge, so to speak, by which to enter; but gradually and as rapidly as the capabilities and interest of the class permit, the Latin must begin to creep into the classroom both orally and in writing. It must do so, however, always from the point of view of those activities which are of the students' daily life and interests. Above all must be abandoned the atrocious practice of confronting beginners with stupid sentences about Gauls and Helvetians, sentences which often do not even make sense, and which the pupil could have no possible conception of, or interest in. When pupils begin to use Latin words and idioms to express thoughts, however simple (and the simpler at first, the better), then I feel the teacher will have made point of contact with a spark of interest latent in most people. It is my heartfelt conviction that, unless some consideration for the attitude of pupils is taken, they are not going to respond to drudgery under the future promise of reading a great book in the years to come. Very few people in the whole world want to

read a great piece of literature that much; it is folly to think so.

For these reasons, therefore, I am very much afraid that changing from Caesar to Vergil is no solution at all. This change is superficial, when what is so drastically needed is a radical and basic change in kind. Simply to go to Vergil would be again to disregard what I feel is the one most important element to consider, namely, what attracts a pupil to the study of a language. I will explain this most important element in a moment. Let me make it clear right away that art and literature and "culture" are going to have to come in as by-products of a language teaching which is oriented around a method of approach a student knows in his heart is correct, and which is to be pursued for its own sake from the first day of classwork. Instruction is not a means to an end; it is its own end, and cannot be construed as preparation for some ill-defined cultural, hoped-for delight to be realized in a future state.

Least of all must the pupil be swamped with that mass of grammatical terminology present in so many of our elementary texts today,—a mass of detail that simply floors one if he stops to think about it in relation to the outlook of a fourteen year old. Language is not learned by reason and grammatical rule; it is learned by imitation and idioms. Fine points of grammar are useful after one has learned the language; but believe me, they can be and often are an impediment rather than a help to its mastery in the beginning. I am really surprised sometimes that as many students take Latin as do, considering the false linguistic method of approach. Such enrollment as we do still have is certainly a compliment to the personality and classroom technique of the Latin teachers as a whole; but I am afraid that, however excellent our tactics may be, unless some very radical changes are made in strategy, the future enrollments will sink to the level of present day Greek study. Such may very well be our fate as a consequence of the spirit of the times, *der Zeitgeist*; and, if so, we might as well get resigned to the situation. *Sapientis*

est necessitati parere. But at least no stone should be left unturned to avoid it.

Now what is this most important element mentioned above? What is the students' attitude? What is that psychological element toward which language instruction should be directed? Simply this: the satisfaction, yes the fascination, prevalent in most persons, of being able to read, write, and speak a foreign tongue, of being able to use that tongue for one's own expression. This does not necessarily involve interest in what someone else has written, regardless of how good that may be, but rather the opportunity to express oneself even if it be not always done with perfection. Interest in the writings of others will come in time, but such interest absolutely is not the motive back of most foreign language enrollment. If one doubts, let him look at what happened to German enrollment recently when the G.I.'s came back from Europe—numbers so large we were practically looking everywhere for teachers to try to take care of the load. At the same time the quality of work done in class rose at a sharp rate and commensurate with the interest those fellows had acquired learning a new language. Why were these men interested in German? Because of Goethe and Schiller? You can bet everything you have they were not. Because of the great works in philosophy and literature in the German language? You can bet your life on it they were not. Universally the reply was, "I was in Germany, and, do you know, within a few months I could say about anything I wanted to and understand nearly everything that was said." Now allow for a certain amount of exaggeration in this statement, and admit that the language as spoken was often rather faulty. What of it? Do the Germans themselves speak perfectly? Do the Americans? The fact remains that the G.I. could use it remarkably well for the short time he had had to devote to it. He was conscious of his defects and wanted to master the language; and, furthermore, had approached the language as a language, not as an artificiality. This is the reason the language fascinated him. I want to emphasize the fact

that he had begun to sense here what a language is and how it functions, to a degree beyond that of many a Ph.D. in the Classics. The function of a language is to communicate thought and ideas; such is its *Wesen*, its nature, rather than to serve as a cadaver for the meticulous dissection of grammar experts. I feel that the amounts of grammatical detail served up to me, as a student in what corresponded to high school, and in the first two years of college, should, by all means, be reserved for that time when a pupil already has some command of the language and is enrolling for advanced work. The generality of students today are repelled by such unreality; they are just not going to stand for such doses. The teacher may stay by his grammatical guns (?) like Cato; but I am afraid he will also suffer Cato's fate. He will commit professional suicide.

The German has quite an extensive grammar, and in its noun system is far more complicated than the Latin. How many students would have wanted instruction in the language, if, on first contact with it, they had been told that they had to learn an elaborate grammatical terminology and then begin reading 15 or 20 lines a day in the *Niebelungenlied*? I think the answer is obvious.

Or one may look at it from another point of view, if one wants to see how utterly divorced from the simplest elemental principles of linguistics and psychology most of the approach to Latin has been. Suppose you were a foreigner and wanted to learn English. Suppose after going through a severe grammatical training for nine months, reading practically nothing, not learning how to say even the most elementary things in English, exposed to something like 500 words (get that number please)—suppose you were then assigned 15 or 20 lines per day of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, a work which had to be mulled over for six months or a year to the tune of additional elaborate points of English syntax. Suppose you were also assigned highly stylistic sentences to be composed "based on Milton," while you, at the same time, did not even know how to say "Good morning," or "good night" in the English

language? Two questions: first what would you know of the English language? Second, what would be your attitude toward the study of the English language, and the prospects of your continuing the study of it? Is it any wonder our colleges turn out Ph.D.s year after year who do not have enough command of the language to conduct a class in it for elementary pupils?

Again, suppose we gave students in German 500 words for the first year, and then, so that they would not miss the wisdom of Goethe or the thought of Kant, we plunged them the second year into those difficult works, a few lines per day. The result? I do not believe we should have a half dozen students left.

But someone will say, if you introduce pupils to the language gradually, you will have to use "made" Latin. This is a peculiar conception. If you can show me any Latin or German or English that isn't "made," I should like to see it. Somebody "made" all the Latin has ever been written. Nobody ever used at any time any language (even including his mother tongue) in which his words were not "made." As a matter of fact, that is the primary reason for studying a language—so that one may "make" it, use it to express his ideas, and understand it when it is "made" in return to him. Are foreign students to refuse to speak to us because in so doing they will use "made" English?

Here I should like to state a fundamental rule: *Any sentence written or spoken by a pupil in Latin, however defective in grammar it may be, provided it contains enough contact with the original tongue to be understood (the function of a language), is more valuable to that pupil than anything any Latin author can say to him.* This is a cardinal point, and is absolutely indispensable in making any progress in improvement of Latin instruction. No thought of Lucretius, no beauties of Horace and Vergil are as valuable to the pupil as the above function. Life is action and function, not receptivity and passivity. One has talked much of the pupil in the past, but I am afraid it has been too often lip service. When the choice was to be made, the re-

luctance of human nature to give up the old-time way of doing things was too great. For better or for worse, it seems to me the American people and not a Roman author will have to determine whether Latin is taught, what is taught, and why. There has been enough deriding of the pupil. It may be he who is right. It may be the teacher who has been blind, and has flunked.

Latin was learned, written, spoken in 600 A.D., 1200 A.D., and 1500 A.D.; why not now? Charlemagne, Dante, Erasmus, Bacon, Milton, the popes, the Catholic church in general, have used or still use the language. Why cannot we? It will still express anything just as it would in the past, or else it is no language, and should be entirely done away with in the schools. I do not believe any handful of authors is going to save it.

In the light of the repeatedly asserted objectives of Latin study, a good English translation of a Latin author would be for most pupils far preferable to the disjointed, backward study they so often participate in today. Let us imagine a group of pupils plodding through an author, painfully decoding (not translating, much less reading) under the guidance of a teacher who himself cannot really read, write, or speak the language. To suppose that such pupils are obtaining and appreciating some great cultural values denied to the poor unfortunate who is reading a good English translation, appears to me to be the height of the ridiculous. Not only will such pupils not get more out of an author, they will definitely get less.

It is time to question some of the nonsense committed in the name of "culture." The "Beauties of the Original," by which I suppose are meant the subtle flavor of diction, and the turn of expression, and the force of the particular words that are used, and the order in which those words are placed,—these simply are not assimilated by anyone who cannot fluently read (not decode with a dictionary) the author, and who cannot at least write the language of that author (not imitate his style, a quite different thing) with a fair degree of fluency and rapidity. There is nothing to be gained by refusing to face this

basic fact.

Therefore, it may well be that most students will have to learn what they know of antiquity from translations. But, why not? If the Latin language is not worth learning as a language for its own sake, there will then be no need of many people studying it. But those few that do learn it deserve to be taught, the first day that they step into the classroom, from the correct linguistic point of view—a view, namely, that Latin is a language like any other language, and that it is to be learned for itself as a thing actively to be used, and not primarily because of any by-products, however valuable (and I will be second to none in my attestation of the supreme literary quality of the ancient writings). This point of view must dominate throughout the whole instruction. I seriously question the advisability of making the study of Latin serve as an immediate means to any specific end or ends, such as "values of English," ancient "culture," or whatever the slogan under which those nostrums parade which are bandied about so commonly today in trying to prop up a structure that is sadly rotted at the foundations. The increase in skill and knowledge of the language from lesson to lesson is the sufficient and only valid end of the study of Latin. Heretofore it has been all knowledge and no skill. This latter cannot any longer be ignored. As far as values of English are concerned, the incorrect linguistic approach and the false ideas of language engendered thereby will seriously nullify the advantages the student derives from word study. I do not think the American people are going to accept a false front any longer—much less will the leaders in educational thought today, who are no fools, but who, on the contrary, are often much more alert to the forces driving humanity and the problems rising therefrom, than many a Latin teacher, whose assertion "trained mind" is often belied by a helpless attitude in a new situation.

And now a few words about procedure.

In the first place, most elementary texts of Latin published today are practically worthless from the standpoint of teaching a student

to read and write the language. They should be gradually replaced by a new series written from an entirely different point of view—a series based upon words and expressions chosen with reference to their general linguistic importance and usefulness in the Latin language *in toto*, rather than based on a writer to be read at some future time. To explain by one example: the most common forms of the irregular verbs should probably be given to the pupil very early, simply because such words are linguistically indispensable. No one can use the language without them. How many pupils know how to say eat and drink in Latin? And yet I submit to you, what words could possibly touch more closely the average pupil today than *edo* and *bibo*? Are pupils better able to make those first steps into the conceptual atmosphere of a foreign tongue (steps which must at first be only semi-comprehended), better with the concepts of eating and drinking or with the campaigns against the Nervii? Is not a situation where a pupil has never read in Latin a word about the ordinary functions of every day living, but is thoroughly drilled on Caesar's subjunctives, linguistically rather ridiculous? who knows all about Caesar's pursuit of Ariovistus, but has no idea of how to say the cat chased the mouse? Here, I think, is what is wrong with Latin. It has lost all point of contact with the daily functional activities of the learner.

Further, those English sentences assigned to beginners in the first year or so to be stated in Latin, should not be long involved sentences "based" on an author, as if one were trying to teach beginners in the language to do what the Roman himself practiced only after years of study in his own tongue. The sentences should rather be very simple, perhaps in complexity not going beyond subject, verb, and object, or even for the first few months limited merely to phrases, but always incorporating as far as possible idioms. Instead of trying to write involved complex sentences, let the student memorize such expressions as: "I've got to go to town," "Let's go home," etc. Examples of such sentences as these, slightly varied, should be memorized

as idioms, with as little grammatical terminology as possible. A simple statement of grammatical usage is harmless enough, but the meticulous subdividing, for example of cases, into grammatical categories should be avoided in every way possible until the student is well along in his acquaintance with the language. Rather, one should approach a grammatical usage, e.g. the ablative, from the point of view not of the "uses" of the ablative or what sort of ablative such and such an expression may be, but always as to how one expresses such and such in object or action in Latin. How does one express, let us say, the different concepts of "with" as exemplified in the English expressions of fighting "with" someone, hitting a dog "with" a stick, running over someone "with" a car, etc. The same holds true for learning the principal parts of verbs. In other words, as has been often stated but too seldom practiced: grammar must be taught at first inductively, only later for advanced students deductively. Above all, one should refrain from trying to reason out with pupils linguistic usage, a thing which is not a matter of reason at all, but which is to be accepted more or less without question.

If a pupil is later interested in trying to imitate the style of an author (a quite different thing from being able to write the language), let him do so only after he has acquired some facility in expressing himself in simple Latin with the most common idioms. So much of "Latin Prose Composition" is a monstrosity. It is like trying to teach a person to open the doors of the tenth floor before he has climbed the stairs.

The next suggestion is this: In order to make a progress which is satisfying, pupils must be given for the first year about 1500-2000 basic Latin words and idioms (instead of 500, *mirabile dictu!*); which are to be chosen, as stated above, for their linguistic usefulness and their indispensability in expressing the basic functions of living. These words are to be committed to memory, their meanings and idiomatic usages learned by thoroughly mastering 500-1000 pages per year of easy reading material.

The content and make up of this reader should be most carefully chosen. It should begin on its first pages with sentences and vocabulary so easy that the pages could be read by the average pupil almost even if he had never had a lesson of Latin in his life. Give him the words *est* and *sunt*, and then the English language is full of Latin words which can be used: *aqua*, *alumnus*, *tuba*, *arbiter*, *campus*, *ovum*, *animal*, etc. These words will mean something to the pupil. His entrance into the language will be natural and easy, and he will not be disheartened at the first by seemingly insuperable difficulties. This reader should exhibit variety of material, and contain matter from every sort of Latin written from ancient down to modern times. For beginners, naturally, the element of *Stilistik* will have to be taken out of the ancient selections, and the Latin there recast into the simpler and more natural mode of expression. It must not be forgotten that the difficulty of Latin is not the essential grammar and idiom of the language, but that involved, purposely artificialized "stylistic" in which so many Roman authors have clothed their writings. To try to introduce most beginners to a language through this barrier is fatal. The reader must incorporate rather those basic words and idioms that have been generally agreed to be the most common and important linguistically by the learned Latin world. One would not hesitate to take material from the Latin Bible, mediaeval Latin, and Latin composed today, any more than one would from Cato, Ennius, and Cicero. The Latin will be graded in difficulty, but always of such "simplicity-difficulty" that the pupil can read for each assignment, after learning actively as well as passively a previously determined group of words and idiomatic phrases, something like ten to fifteen to twenty-five pages. By reading great quantities of Latin on the most varied subjects, the vocabulary and common idioms must be hammered in by sheer repetition. Repetition, not reason, is the only hope of learning to read Latin.

To take a concrete example of what might be done: Why not present to the pupil an

interesting account in simple Latin of the eruption of Vesuvius, the city of Pompeii, etc., profusely illustrated? Then follow it by the account of Pliny, drastically simplified of course, in such a way that the whole of both accounts could be read at one sitting in about an hour and a half. The pupil could then rise with the feeling of having read something useful, something interesting, and at the same time of having commanded his foreign language with some mastery. When he rises he is through with the matter. Here would be no long drawn out struggle to be prolonged for a whole year a few lines at a time *ad nauseam*. Rare indeed is the enthusiasm which will take such a punishment for a year and survive. Some such method as this, therefore, is the way in my opinion, the problem of reading must be attacked.

As a further step there should be formed a sort of semi-official committee of about a dozen scholars in this country who know the language well, and who, after due consideration, would issue from time to time in appropriate form the best, and widely most accepted, and therefore quasi official, terms in Latin for such expressions and words as we have today for which there is no word found in the writings of the past. Where the appropriate word does exist, it will be taken from any period of the language where it can be found: Plautus, Tacitus, Alcuin, or Erasmus, indifferently. In other words, Latin must be considered what it rightfully is, a *lingua tota*, and not an antique.

Next, some of the larger schools in the country with adequate facilities should promote summer sessions for the better Latin pupils (and teachers), patterned somewhat after the modern language schools at Middlebury, in which no pupil or teacher would be accepted who would not pledge himself to use only the Latin language while in attendance. Some modification of this rather strict rule should probably be allowed at first, until a sufficient entrance into the spoken language could be made by a sufficiently large number of teachers and pupils. In some such gathering, let pupils and teachers in the summer-time mingle alike in social good

fellowship and in the more strenuous work of the classroom, using the Latin tongue exclusively. However halting and, at first, awkward might be the expression, I believe a pupil would learn more about the civilization and culture of the Romans in those six weeks than in any other six weeks of work he could possibly engage in.

One last recommendation: The Classical departments of our colleges and universities should check on the linguistic attainments of their doctoral candidates in Latin, and require of the candidate both the ability to write the Latin fluently, and to speak it at least well enough to conduct classes in the language for elementary students. Also, instead of the "reading knowledge" of two modern languages, which often today means little, the doctorate should be granted only to those who have gone through the mill of learning to read, write, and speak fluently one language other than the *Muttersprache*. Such teachers will do more for the Classics than all the dissertations that have been written for the past one hundred years. Latin must

be taken out of the category of a science, which it most decisively is not, and transferred to the division of arts which it most decisively is. The study of Latin letters is just as truly a fine art as are music and painting, and must be taught in the same way. The confusion existing today is a result of that mistaken procedure by which an art was gradually divested of its soul and wound up in the laboratory. Language is a skill, not a science, and its exponents should be artists, consummate in skill, not in scientific method.

In conclusion let me say again that these remarks do not constitute finality, but simply express a sincere feeling that the modern language teachers' point of view might perhaps turn thinking into another channel.

Quite naturally the Classics teachers will want to make those adaptations best suited to time and circumstance, but I feel these suggestions merit some serious thought before they are summarily rejected.

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SOME STUDENT OPINIONS

The present article reports some of the results of fairly long questionnaires given to students in Greek History and in Beginning Greek. The author has tried to avoid merely local aspects, peculiar to his own university and courses. He has not tried to avoid problems of general interest. A sample questionnaire, and remarks about questionnaires, appear in the April number, pages 350-4.

IN THE PREVIOUS ARTICLE I tried to suggest that wholesale, uncritical regard for student opinion as to any given course is as foolish as utter disregard of student opinion. Not often, but occasionally, the students are agreed, or nearly agreed, on some question about which their opinion has value. When this is the case, the teacher may sometimes reasonably permit student opinion to affect his own decisions. It may be useful to report

a few such instances, and to try to formulate, however subjectively, some of the considerations which are bound to influence the instructor's decisions.

Greek History

Students even from the best schools, and even after courses in Latin and Greek, know very few facts about Ancient History. Hence the first consideration in a course in Greek History is to make sure that they learn facts. The natural method is hour examinations, usually two, about a month apart, containing both (short) comprehensive and spot questions. No less police-like method is likely to result in the acquisition by the students of a sound factual basis.

The arguments against hour examinations are nevertheless strong. Hour examinations cut into the student's regular week-by-week

or day-by-day work. The student's other courses are all neglected in favor of the course in which the exam is looming up. A spasm of cramming in each of four courses successively breaks in upon calmer work for the other three. Perhaps other things can best be taught by this spasmodic application of police power. Historical thinking cannot. The examinations are necessarily too short for any considerable attack on any historical problem, or for any full-bodied narrative, or for the development of any rounded understanding.

Any teacher who believes that a principal value of history is the development of analytical and imaginative powers by study of facts will therefore consider replacing hour examinations (of course retaining the three-hour final examination) by a series of papers. The papers will be based on the reading. The reading will consist largely of sources. A choice of topics will be offered. Historical thinking will be called for. Full criticisms will be written on each paper by the instructor. Another such essay, but extemporaneous, will be called for on the final examination. Eight such efforts spaced throughout the year do in fact seem to develop in most students some power of imaginative fact-based historical thinking, in which theories grow out of evidence, and facts are lit up by the significance of general considerations.

After hour examinations had been abandoned in the course in question, and after a fair trial of the papers, the students were asked their opinion.

Owing to the facts that answering questions was not compulsory, and that students were not compelled to give sharp answers, the figures do not add up to the same totals. There is no reason to believe that more rigid limitation of answers would result in conclusions as correct.

Do you think the papers were a good thing in themselves?

Yes 48

Mixed 3

No 1

Would you have preferred hour examinations and no papers?

Yes 4

Uncertain 4

No 40

Would you have preferred one long thesis (30 pages) in each semester instead of papers or hour examinations?

Yes 2

Uncertain 2

No 49

Nearly all answers were in full sentences, with much variety of reasoning, but the arguments against the long thesis were in several instances the same as those which occur naturally to any teacher. They boil down to this, that in learning a new subject, especially one spread out over many centuries, concentration on one topic is not profitable. Further questions were asked:

Choice of topics: were too many offered?

(The number of topics varied from ca. 12 to 20)

Choice of topics: Were the topics the wrong ones or the the wrong sort?

Comment on the reader's comments on your papers.

Comment in general on the papers.

The answers to these questions need not be given here, but they revealed no reason for abandoning the papers. The midyear and final (three-hour) examinations had not revealed serious general neglect of "facts." Altogether, therefore, the adoption of papers in place of hour examinations was regarded as confirmed. If further argument were needed, the adult character of the papers, as opposed to the hour examinations, could be stressed. More important perhaps is the fact that in American, as contrasted with British education, little writing is called for—too little. Yet writing is of the utmost importance.

Beginning Greek

One of the hardest problems in teaching Beginning Greek is the choice of the first Greek book to read. Certainly the opinions of one class, after reading one book (Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Book 1 entire), will not decide many of the issues—perhaps not any.

But at least the opinions have some interest.

The first possibility to consider is a book of selections, a "reader," with passages from various authors, all simplified to a greater or less extent. Nothing *compels* the selections to be simplified, but they all, or nearly all, are. The argument in favor of such books, apart from mere variety (often wild variety, with no continuity except that all are in Greek prose), is that the selections will afford enticing "vistas" and so lead students to do what they otherwise wouldn't, and go on in Greek.

Would you have preferred a book of simplified selections from several authors?

In two sections with a total of 34 students answering, two students in one section voted Yes, and three in the other (counting as Yes one student who specified that the book must also be an introduction to Greek culture).

Total, Yes, 5.

The rest had other preferences. Many of the comments were strong against any simplified Greek—students want the real thing. "Deliver me from simplified selections," said one. Another would "detest" an anthology. "No simplified texts!" said a third. A few were aware of the advantages of getting used to just one style and vocabulary.

I hope it may not seem improper to try to put these answers in their right setting. No questionnaire, and no interpretation of the results, is likely to affect the attitude of those instructors who still want anthologies. Their attitude appears to be grounded in an inferiority complex. They conceive that students who have already devoted a full course to learning the rudiments of a language will not go on unless their first reading is Herodotus, atticised and shrunk to a mere teller of untrue anecdotes; Plato, telling about the last days and hours of Socrates, with no adequate evidence that Socrates was of consequence; and so on.

No policy with regard to the Classics should ever be based on weakness. Students

sense weakness almost instantly—and the cause is lost.

The students in Greek A are of course all in college, each of the four years being represented; there are in addition three divinity students. The instructor in Section I was a philosophy "major" as an undergraduate, and has kept up an interest in the subject; the instructor in Section II has done the usual reading in the philosophical Greek authors, and he too has an interest in general ideas. Throughout an entire year, these interests certainly became apparent in the classroom.

Would you have preferred reading involving more abstract or philosophical or general ideas?

Section I: Yes, 3; but only one hearty.

Definitely No, 4.

Section II: Yes, 5; but two of these mentioned the learning of Greek as paramount.

It is evident that on the basis of this vote alone no decision in favor of a change to a "philosophical" author is warranted.

The instructors have been concerned with the danger that the *Anabasis*, after an entire semester, might have come to seem too easy, at least for the able students.

Would you prefer a harder author?

Only two students expressed an interest in considering a harder author, but both expressly preferred the *Anabasis*.

Undeniably *Anabasis* Book 1, read continuously and entire, cannot be made to seem to be what it obviously is not.

Do you consider the Anabasis not sufficiently interesting OR interesting OR very interesting?

Not sufficiently interesting, 5.

Interesting, 19 (but six of these qualify their answers).

Very interesting, 9.

On another question, the one dealing with philosophical reading, 12 out of 20 in Section I stated a preference for the *Anabasis*. In Section II, eleven out of 14 thought the *Anabasis* sufficiently interesting, or better.

Of the five who thought that as a whole Book 1 is dull, two thought that some passages are interesting.

Do you consider the Anabasis too hard OR too easy?

Too hard, 4

Too hard in places, 4

About right, 22

Too easy, 2

Of the 22, many stressed the considerable variations of difficulty.

Another question showed that the time spent per page varied from $\frac{1}{2}$ hour to five hours, the average of all being $1\frac{1}{2}$ to two hours.

Two questions directed to the quality of the edition used (Kelsey's, the only one known to us as being available and suitable in any degree), showed that the students were discriminating between the text itself and the faulty presentation of it. The degree of approval of the *Anabasis* was reached despite the edition, not because of it.

Of course students who have read nothing else (apart from the selections in Chase's and Phillips' *New Introduction*) are in a poor position to express preferences. The decision must be the instructors' own. Again, personal prejudices on the part of the instructors, or abstract reasonings by anyone, are no adequate basis for the decision. The test is not these, but simply, in some reasonable sense, what works. The questionnaire proved merely that a goodly majority felt that the *Anabasis* had in fact worked so far as they were concerned. Not one expressed plain boredom with it, not one mentioned as distressing any one aspect—the parasangs, the military vocabulary, or any other.

The *Anabasis* does not teach itself. Its apparent simplicity, its extrovert presentation, its remoteness from many prior interests of many of our students must all be coped with by the instructor. A good set of notes is badly needed. Failing these, the instructor must himself perceive the tenseness of the masses of troops and of the principal actors in one situation after another, the high selectivity in the narrative with all that it

leaves unsaid, and the fact that dominion over the world's greatest empire was at stake. Once he has understood the *Anabasis* (surely one of the world's least understood books by an author who in general has not been justly appraised), the instructor must let Xenophon reveal to the class what he, Xenophon, has put into Book 1. This is not easy. Plato's *Apology*, for example, requires no such effort; if praise has to be given, the *Apology* will bear it. But the *Anabasis* will not bear hearty indiscriminate praise, and students must be adroitly led to discover its qualities. We cannot claim to have succeeded in doing this to the full, but we are sure that the book offers the opportunity.

As to general and philosophical ideas, I am inclined to think that there is a need and a place for them in Beginning Greek; but that they must be introduced only where they fit in naturally, and they must be handled briefly. Compression may increase their force. In any case, questions on this point elicited a clear response in favor of some general and philosophical ideas in class—coupled with equally definite but not quite so numerous statements that philosophy must not interfere with the teaching of grammar and syntax.

It is this last criterion—the sound learning of Greek—which was clearly dominant in the minds of most of the students. By it they judged the books to be used, by it they judged the intrusion of broadly philosophical, cultural, and other strictly irrelevant material. They had faith that if they could learn to read Greek, the rest would be added unto them.

In conclusion I report for the amusement of my colleagues the results of four questions about the illustrations in Chase and Phillips. The illustrations were my own selection, and the captions were intended to join together, in a few links at least, literature, archaeology, and history, and to give a brief sketch of the history of Greece. At least the pictures themselves are there, and might themselves say something.

Here too the students applied the same criterion—relevance. All 34 students stated

that they "had looked at" the pictures, but three of the 34 only casually. Five had not read all the captions; only one went out of his way to say he liked them.

The illustrations: useless, OR helpful, OR interesting but of indifferent value?

Useless, 3

Interesting and valuable, 18

Interesting but of no value, 11

The question was perhaps not clearly put, student notions of "value" being mainly practicality. "Interesting," said one, "but ineffably useless." In the text the story of Aristides, and the request to inscribe his own name on an ostrakon, is given in *extenso*, in Greek; and we read it. Although in the questionnaire two or three students stated that they were interested in the ostraka, no student commented on the presence of an ostrakon inscribed with the name of Aristides. One student suggested that the illustrations "might be related to the reading." Although there were a fair number of comments more encouraging than this, not one mentioned the historical continuity. An A student, who had read the captions—"Yes, once; but I've forgotten what they were"—summed up, "A Greek book needs decorations."

Addendum. The illustrations in question, together with a critical discussion of various examples and of principles, have been reprinted in an article, "Illustrations in Text-books," *Journal of General Education* (University of Chicago Press), 5 (1951) 101-115.

STERLING DOW

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"We See" (from p. 372)

according to an account of the Senatorial debate prior to the investigation into the general's dismissal, this account being clipped from the NEW YORK TIMES (May 3) by Professor Levy. In the course of the debate, Senator Neely (W. Va.) "recalled that Scipio had required a slave to stand behind him constantly to remind him, 'Remember O Scipio, thou art but human'."

The WASHINGTON POST, according to a pile of excerpts from Professor John F. Latimer of the George Washington University, has twice

recently suggested Classical parallels to points in connection with General MacArthur. Before the dismissal news had broken, the POST had prepared an editorial (published April 11) in which it was suggested that the general, like Anteaos (sic) ought "to renew his strength and refresh his outlook by occasional contact with the earth" (apparently of his native country).

On April 12 in another editorial the POST dipped into Plutarch (*Vit. Cat. Min.*) for other parallels, some not complimentary, including Caesar's letter to the Senate, which can be compared with the general's letter to former Speaker Martin. The POST apparently hoped for some Cato in the U. S. Senate to say "many reasonable things and . . . severe truths" with reference to the letter.

MORE PARALLELS

Still more editorials with references to Classical antiquity were culled by Professor Latimer. The WASHINGTON EVENING STAR (March 15, in an editorial about Senator Fulbright's proposal of a commission to investigate the "moral and ethical level" of government, suggests that an example in Washington might be much more effective than an investigation or a written code of ethical behavior. The editor then adds, "That, of course, is no new idea. It was Cicero who wrote that 'What is shown by example, men think they may justly do.' And in much the same vein, another Roman reminds us that 'The people are fashioned by the examples of their kings, and edicts are of less power than the life of the ruler.'"

The STAR (March 24) likewise reprinted an article by C. W. Dressler from the Johnstown (Pa.) TRIBUNE under the title "See What It Did to Athens and Carthage!" His subjects are rackets and influence-peddling, and his Classical sources are Polybius, Xenophon, and Justin. He concludes that Carthage and Athens fell through moral deterioration, saying, "When the time came that, as Polybius wrote of Carthage, 'nothing which results in profit was regarded as disgraceful,' and as Xenophon said of Athens, anything could be done for a bribe, the moral fiber of the citizens was so rotten that only a push was necessary to upset the state."

Miss Bernice Gilmore of the Haverford Township Senior High School (Pa.) enclosed a clipping from the PHILADELPHIA EVENING BULLETIN (February 5), which reports that Senator James Duff has been reading books on "the

(Turn to p. 416)

BOOK REVIEWS

AUGUSTUS AND TIBERIUS

Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, collected by VICTOR EHRENBURG and A. H. M. JONES: Oxford, at the Clarendon Press (1949). Pp. viii + 159. \$2.50.

THIS VOLUME was apparently suggested by the small but excellent pamphlet *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero*, collected by M. P. Charlesworth and issued by the Cambridge University Press in 1939. However it is done on a much more elaborate scale, which is justified by the greater importance and length of the period covered. No serious student of the early Principate should be without copies of both collections.

A survey of the contents will show how useful a one-volume supplement to the literary sources we now have for the eighty years which established the form of the Roman Principate. Section I gives the latest text in Latin and Greek of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Section II digests information gathered from the various *fasti* under two heads: the years from 43 B.C. to A.D. 37 (pp. 32-43), the events on specific days of the year (pp. 44-54). This re-arrangement by experts of material scattered in *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, and *L'année épigraphique* is revealing and valuable. All important historical items in the *fasti* are quoted, and a few cross-references are given. Sections III-XIV are as follows: Historical Events; The Imperial Family; Imperial Cult; Imperial Dependents, Freedmen, and Slaves; Foreign Kings; Senators; Equestrian Order; Army and Navy; Public Works; Administration of the Empire; Cities of the Empire; Varia. Items 1-363 in these twelve sections include coins, inscriptions, papyrus, and a few documents preserved in the literary sources. An appendix contains the *Lex de imperio*

Vespasiani which falls outside the chronological limits of the volume, and an addendum contains a recently discovered *rogatio* in honor of Germanicus.

Mention of a few items included will show the richness of the selection: the bilingual inscription to the poet Gallus (21); three excerpts from the minutes of the Secular Games in 17 B.C. (30-32); the Pisan inscriptions on cenotaphs for Lucius and Gaius (68-69); inscriptions from Narbo and Gytheion on the imperial cult (100, 102, 105); the epitaph of Paquius Scaeva and Flavia (197); a list of legionary soldiers from Coptos in Egypt (261); six senatorial decrees and the *lex Quinctia de aquaeductibus* from Frontinus (278 f.); the edict of Augustus *de aquaeductu Venefrano* (282); Octavian's edict and his letters to the Rhosians in 41-30 (301); six letters or edicts from Josephus (304 f., 309 f., 313 f.); Cyrenaic edicts of Augustus and a senatorial decree (311); two edicts of Germanicus in Egypt in 19 B.C. (320); the famous *diatagma Kaisaros* from Nazareth of disputed date (322); the *fasti* of 34-28 from Venusia (323); a decree of the local senate (*centumviri*) of Veii (333); and parts of the so-called *Laudatio Turiae* (357).

Many of these documents have long been known and are published in the standard shorter collections (Dessau is cited 185 times in the "Comparative table"), but even volumes like Dittenberger, Bruns, and Dessau are often not immediately accessible to the students, and the texts of many of these documents are even harder to obtain: for example the Rhosian and Cyrenaic inscriptions were first published by Roussell in 1934 and Oliverio in 1927, and were previously available only in the periodical literature. The inclusion of the most recent source material is an especial virtue of the volume. The difficult task of proofreading has been impeccably performed by the editors and the Clarendon Press. The choice is excellent. The

only major omission that I would note is the decree of the triumvirs justifying the proscription of 43 B.C. (Appian, *Bella civilia*, 4.8-11). In the statement on the dust cover that the volume will be "particularly useful in university and sixth form teaching" I am sure that the inclusion of "sixth form" was a pious hope rather than a genuine expectation. The editors understandably omitted annotation in favor of added documents. Most readers would have been grateful for some added references, e.g. to Bruns, *Fontes*, but it is ungrateful to ask more when we have received so much.

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Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius, by MICHAEL GRANT. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 116. The American Numismatic Society, N. Y. C., 1950. Pp. xviii+199, with eight plates and a separately bound key to the plates (pp. 201-205). There are 12 appendices (pp. 135-171), and a "List of some works cited" (pp. 173-187), as well as *Addenda* (pp. 189-190) and Indices of Persons (pp. 191-194), Places (pp. 194-196) and General (pp. 196-199).

THE SUB-TITLE of this study, "Historical Comments on the Colonial Coinage issues outside Spain," is explained (p. ix) by the statement that not only are the non-Spanish coinages of the greatest rarity: comparatively full lists of the Spanish issues have already been published.

There are three chapters in the monograph: I, a list and discussion of all non-Spanish colonial coinages attributed by the author to the principate of Tiberius; II, the person of Tiberius, the friends to whom he gave authority and the *virtutes* or principles officially favored by his government; III, his Julio-Claudian seniors and juniors and especially Livia.

In his Conclusion (pp. 130-134), Mr. Grant declares (130) that Tiberius has been regarded "not only as the second, but also as the last of the true *principes*;" he says (133) that Livia "set the precedent for a

monstrous regiment of women;" and feels (134) that "the greatest of all the achievements of Tiberius was the stabilisation of the imperial Peace."

His final conclusion is (134) that the principate of Tiberius was "a decisive stage in the history of the Roman Empire."

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RENAISSANCE

SELLERY, GEORGE C., *The Renaissance—Its Nature and Origins*: Madison, the University of Wisconsin Press (1950). Pp. 296. \$3.75.

CULTURAL HISTORY is a form of inquiry as complex and as arduous as any that the human mind can reasonably undertake; and it is probable that no question in cultural history requires nicer discernment and greater intellectual tact than a determination of the causes of the cultural permutation which marked the break between the Middle Ages and the Modern Era. The essential nature of the Renaissance has been so much the *Hauptproblem* of modern historiography that a history of the attempts to define it was recently compiled by Wallace K. Ferguson in a valuable book which seems unfortunately to have been unknown to the author of the present work: *The Renaissance in Historical Thought—Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948). For the most lucid and succinct statement of the present status of the Renaissance-problem, the reader is referred to Hans Baron's masterly critique of Ferguson's book in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xi (1950), 493-510.

The present work is written with a benevolent purpose; it is designed "to straighten out historians and students of European history." The bent and twisted scholars who are to be made straight on Mr. Sellery's anvil are those who believe that the Renaissance was a renaissance. Neither the Revival of Learning nor the great models of Classical antiquity nor the Humanists, according to Mr. Sellery, had anything to do with it. Instead, "the real seminal force was

the natural effort of men to achieve a more abundant life on this earth." This thesis the author proceeds to demonstrate, with an occasional note of scholarly caution, such as "we cannot be dead [sic] sure," by a well-organized series of desultory accounts, drawn principally (if we may judge from the notes) from secondary sources, of the lives and activities of various Mediaeval and later figures with whom the Humanists *en masse* or occasionally a given Humanist are compared unfavorably. Individual Humanists, with the exception of Valla, receive very little attention. Poggio and Bruni, for example, are dismissed in two pages as unworthy predecessors of Guicciardini, who is commended because his histories, *inter alia*, "lack the highfalutin [sic] of the Humanist historians." And strange as it may seem, Erasmus, although twice mentioned in passing, is not discussed at all. The influence of the Humanists on education is dismissed by citation (p. 259) of the strange doctrine that "the superiority of the educated man to the uneducated is independent of the subject-matter on which the education is based." The obvious similarities between Classical and Renaissance art are, we are told (p. 227), not the result of imitation of Classical models, but merely what is to be expected "in works created by men of relatively the same blood and temperament, on the same soil and under the same climatic conditions."

Mr. Sellery, in short, believes that the Revival of Learning did not exert any fundamental influence on the historical change known as the Renaissance, although he grants (p. 262) that it "had a part in the development and elaboration of some forms of literature," indirectly affected architecture, and prepared the way for later Classical scholarship; and, "although it is hard to trace it," he concedes that "there must have been some leakage from the ivory towers of the Italian Humanists into the surging life of the Italian people." This last phrase conveniently illustrates the weaknesses of the book as a whole: its superficiality and its want of historical perspective.

What are we to understand by the trite

reference to "the ivory towers"? That the Humanists lived in isolation from the life of their age? That simply is not true. Among the Humanists we find chancellors of republics, governors of cities, advisers of kings, bishops, cardinals, and at least two popes. I can call to mind no Humanist who was fortunate enough to find even a passable substitute for the ivory tower; life in the Renaissance was too uncertain—was always exposed to the prevailing violence of a convulsive age. The lives of even the most honored and influential Humanists are chronicles of insecurity. Their composite biography is the story of men who were born prematurely in open fields while mobs were burning their fathers' houses; defrauded by their guardians; driven into exile for uncautious reasonableness; stranded on foreign and inhospitable shores; reduced to precarious and humiliating dependence on the patronage of *condottieri*; made destitute by the sack of cities; imprisoned by tyrants; murdered by *bravi*. For the layman, at least, there was nothing in the Renaissance that corresponded even to the ivory tower of an American university professor, a habitation which most of its occupants regard as sufficiently precarious and penurious and not a structure properly to be described as a chryselephantine fortalice of tranquillity. If, on the other hand, we take the phrase about the Humanists' ivory towers to be merely a fantastic hyperbole denoting nothing more than a devotion to aesthetic and intellectual values above the competence of the commonalty, are we to infer that such devotion was historically futile and meaningless even in an age in which philological learning was accorded a formal respect that it has not subsequently enjoyed?

The task of the historian—admittedly intricate and delicate, but imperative unless we are to accept the complete relativism which is the currently fashionable form of intellectual suicide—is to do precisely what Mr. Sellery rebukes the Humanists for having tried to do, to view human events *sub specie aeternitatis*, and to emancipate himself, so far as may be possible, from the vulgar

prejudices of the age in which he lives. This, however, is a book in which the word "aristocratic," for example, is always used with pejorative connotations, and, if I recall correctly, the word "gentleman" does not even occur, being presumably the name of an extinct and unregretted species. The author's premise, always implicit and frequently explicit, is that the "surging life of the people" is the only thing that really counts. Now ours is obviously—at least so far as superficial appearances are concerned—an age of *volkische Beobachter*, and every segment of the globe resounds with perfervid adulation of the Mass, the Common Man, the Proletariat. We are everywhere assured that the Popular Will is supreme. *Vbique igitur populus dominatur et praeipollet*. When Fronto made that pronouncement (accompanied by the advice to his imperial pupil that sounds so sage to modern ears, *igitur ut populo gratum erit, ita facies atque dices*), he doubtless thought of himself as objective and realistic, and he may, in fact, have been right; but had he lived as long as the late George Bernard Shaw, he would have witnessed a most astonishing demonstration of popular sovereignty on the day on which the Praetorians sold the Empire at auction to Didius Julianus. It may be we should be correct in assuming that today the People are a creative historical force, although some pessimists are a little disturbed by the consideration that we have made a "science" of public opinion and of the means of controlling it, and that the technicians who are proficient in such matters claim virtually unlimited powers and will, in moments of candor, assure you in quaint idiom that almost anything can be accomplished with an operating budget adequate "to rattle the stick in the swill-pail." But whatever the truth concerning the realities of the present—and we may here remit a question so charged with contemporary emotions to the decisions of the historians of the future—it is distinctly an anachronism to project the platitudes of current sentimentality and cunning into other ages of the world's history. If we forget that we too are but a moment in the history of mankind, our

work is more likely to please the present than to illumine the past.

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LATIN IN COLOMBIA

RIVAS SACCONI, JOSÉ MANUEL, *El latín en Colombia: Bosquejo histórico del humanismo colombiano* (Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, III): Bogotá, Editorial Voluntad (1949). Pp. viii + 486. \$8.00.

TO THE WRITER of this book *la lengua madre*, the mother-tongue, means Latin (e.g. page 355), and the stemming of his culture from ancient Rome is even more direct and obvious than that of ours seems to us. He says in the preface, what the subtitle implies, that "Latin in Colombia is Colombian humanism," and that such a study as this reveals a cross section of the nation's cultural history (vii). In tracing a lamentable decline in the educational prestige and general knowledge and use of Latin, the book offers little novelty to readers in this country. But it differs from the story of Latin in the United States at the beginning and the end—in the rich cultural atmosphere of the colonial period and in the latter-day phenomenon of the language cultivated as a medium of expression, limited to a select few, but still very much alive.

In the earliest colonial period the humanistic influence of Latin is traced from the very conquest, in the educational background of the leaders, in private libraries, in grave inscriptions, in types and allusions in the contemporary literature. The first schools, established by religious orders, were in the European tradition of liberal arts, in which "grammar," meaning Latin, was the first and indispensable step and the common medium for all the later disciplines—philosophy, theology, law, medicine. Latin was the language of instruction from the second year of "grammar" through the university; it was used in examinations, publications, debates, plays, public orations, and even (according to regulations) in conversation and sports. For a first-hand picture of university educa-

tion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the author draws upon many examples of *mamotretos*, notebooks in Latin from which the professors lectured, and more or less verbatim copies of them which the students made from dictation. And he devotes a chapter to an interesting manuscript *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* written in 1628-1629 by a twelve year old student.

Aside from the usage of teachers and students, the period was enlightened by numerous works on the Latin language and literature and by writings in Latin in the fields of history, law, religion, and devotion. The author sums up the age as follows.

Humanism in New Granada was born alive and functioning. Rather than in translations, commentaries, and philological essays, it manifests itself in original works—in prose and verse—and in reminiscences of ancient literature, happily incorporated in the literature of the people (227-228).

The next period in the history is one of transition, spanning the end of the colony and the beginning of the independent republic. It involves not only the political revolution but a cultural and educational one as well, which the author places between the dates of the Provisional Method adopted in 1774 and the final reorganization of schools in 1826. With regard to Latin, the transition began with well-intended criticism and reform of the methods of teaching it and ended in its abandonment as the core of education. As this is only one manifestation of a profound national and international movement, the best analysis can only mention some of the more obvious causes for the particular phenomenon. There was the rise of scientific interest, detracting from older fields of interest in which Latin was traditionally entrenched. There was reaction against the basic "grammar" in the curriculum because it completely neglected the Spanish language, combined with the charge that the Latin being taught was a vulgar corruption, far short of the classical standard. There were ethical and religious objections to the humanities on the grounds that they presented

pagan ideals of the Augustan age in preference to Christian ideals. And there was a dire shortage of teachers when, in 1767, all members of the Jesuit order were expelled from the Spanish territories in America. By the end of the transition period Latin had ceased to be the language of instruction; the study of Latin grammar was reduced to two years and placed on a par with Spanish, French, English, Greek, and an indigenous language.

This was the status of Latin in the schools when the National University was founded, in 1868, the eventual successor of various religious universities and colleges of the colonial period. Presumably that status has not materially changed to date. The author does not give facts and figures on the present-day enrollments of classics departments; he is more concerned with values other than statistical. But the remainder of the book permits one to conclude that Latin study, in becoming less common, did not end in sterility. The humanism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Colombia is characterized by the work of a few outstanding individuals whose influence has been quite widely diffused, and by the production of translations of the classics, notably lacking in the earlier periods.

The great man towering above all others in the field was Miguel Antonio Caro (1843-1909), who, aside from a prodigious literary production, exercised great influence as professor, journalist, and statesman. Against the background of his profound learning and love of antiquity, his work is presented under four categories: Latin grammar, translations, commentaries and criticism, and Latin writings. The *Gramática de la lengua latina para el uso de los que hablan castellano* (1867), written by Caro in collaboration with Rufino José Cuervo, was designed to serve the special need of considering Spanish grammar in conjunction with the Latin. Caro's best known contribution to Colombian letters is his translation of Vergil (1873-1876) in Spanish meters. Indeed his skill and industry applied to the turning of Latin, English, French, and Italian poetry into Spanish and

Spanish into Latin have more than once gained him the reputation of "one of the greatest translators of all times" (376). His critical works were numerous, devoted to many classical topics but primarily concerned with the poetry of Vergil and Horace.

In his constant practice of writing Latin prose and verse, Caro offers an example of a feature of Colombian humanism of which the author takes special notice. Caro's use of Latin was always perfectly natural, his imitation of classical models unaffected, almost unconscious. The final chapter of the book, on the contemporary period, describes a considerable body of scholarly work—criticism, translation, studies in grammar and metrics. But most impressive is the evidence of the continued use of Latin, not only for scholarly publications and the special requirements of ecclesiastical documents, but as a personal means of expression, an eloquent testimony to an abiding love of the mother-tongue on the part of many Colombians.

To classicists in most countries it will appear strange that Greek does not play an important part in any such history of humanism. The author notes that Greek studies did not exist in the colonial period and have been "limited and sporadic" since then: "The knowledge of Greek literature has been generally indirect, through the medium of Latin and modern literatures" (vii). It is concluded from the available evidence that Caro knew Greek but did not cultivate it with great enthusiasm (411-412). His overwhelming preference for Latin is seen as a natural intimacy with his linguistic heritage rather than a scholarly acquisition, in a comparison with the Spanish humanist, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo:

[Caro] is a practical humanist, who writes in Latin as his own language; he lives humanism as the men of the Renaissance lived it: with the same feeling of newness, of encounter, of filial devotion to Rome, and antiquity. The humanism of Menéndez Pelayo, broadening its view to include the Hellenic world, is more historical and appears less dependent on Latinity alone; Caro's, being more a matter of tradition, is almost exclusively Latin (411).

The book is judiciously planned with a generous documentation in footnotes throughout. Misprints are not frequent enough to concern anyone. However the author is guilty of a blunder, which undoubtedly many readers have called to his attention, when he attributes *auri sacra fames* to Horace rather than Vergil (*Aen.* 3.57). He says that Juan Rodríguez Freile expressly mentions Horace in connection with the quotation (216). If the error was in fact Freile's, our author has failed to correct it.

WILLIAM C. SALYER

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CHRONICLES OF ATHENS

FELIX JACOBY, *Attis: the Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens* (Oxford, at the Clarendon press; 1949). 8°. Pages viii + 431. 35/-.

The present work grew out of the author's new edition of all the Greek local historians. Behind this lay the life-time of collecting, editing, and research incorporated in the earlier volumes of *Die Fragmente des Griechischen Historiker* (= *F gr Hist*; the latest volume is III b). Jacoby has not before published so lengthy a synthetic work. One opens the volume, therefore, in the expectation of finding a mature and masterful treatment.

The text is kept carefully within limits by the use of abundant notes, which give references (the documentation is of course admirably complete), supplementary argumentation, and what might be called many relevant digressions and suggestions; because nearly every known fact and theory about early Athenian history is somewhere involved. The author almost never dodges a problem: he has no need to, he commands the evidence, loves all the phases of his task, and is incapable of soft thinking. Thus every page of the notes is loaded with matter which students will wish to extract and examine in detail. To make all this accessible, Jacoby has thoughtfully printed above each page of notes their numbers and the chapter references to the text; he provides 14 pages of Index (a single index, analytical, with the important

passages marked); and a full Concordance for the fragments. The format is the usual handsome Oxford job. For errors I note only, in the Corrigenda to page 10 (printed on p. 399), the name of W. Peek appears twice as Peck, and of J(eanne) Robert as I. Robert; in the first line of the Addenda to Ch. I, §2, note 2, for (. . . Strabo), read (. . . Plutarch).

Page 239, note 13, needed more attention. Anyone who has found *F gr Hist* at first a trifle complicated in its arrangement and numbering can hardly repress a smile that its author failed to translate *CIA* III 78 into *IG* II² 3112. In the former, the text is dated in Hadrian's time, but in the latter 75/6-87/8, which doubtless is approximately correct.

An Athenian decree is worse neglected. Quoted as his third *testimonium* on the *exegetai* (A3 on page 9), and referred to in this same unhappy note 13 on page 239, the decree is left with a reference to nothing but its first publication: X. Δ. Τσόβυρα (lacks an accent in Jacoby), *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1884, p. 167 (the addendum on p. 224 should also have been cited). This first editor dated it between Pompey and Hadrian. Jacoby complains that he finds no mention of this decree "in P. Graindor's three books about late Athens." That is all. So big and important a text, however, was naturally much discussed; and it would have been inconceivable that it should not have been re-edited in *IG* II², where it duly appeared in the 1916 volume, with bibliography, as no. 1035; the rest of the bibliography down to 1916 is given in the Addenda to the 1916 volume, *IG* II i 2², page 671. Kirchner dated 1035 *impt. s. I a.* The discussion went on, and in due course Paul Graindor wrote five careful and detailed books about Roman Athens: *Chronologie* (1922), *Athènes sous Auguste* (1927), *de Tibère à Trajan* (1931), *Hadrien* (1934), *Hérode Atticus* (1930). These books are in fact so careful and detailed that it is safe only to assume that they include every relevant inscription without exception; *IG* II² 1035, the present decree, even though Kirchner had dated it earlier, is mentioned in *Chronologie*, p. 144; in *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 198, note 1; and again in *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 162, n. 2, because Tod had found reason to

move it down into the first century A.D. Moreover it has been discussed at intervals down to the present, but not conclusively with respect to the date. It calls for a more detailed note elsewhere.

In *Atthis* as a whole the isolated lapses in relation to these texts dwindle into insignificance. The main doctrine is as follows. Wilamowitz had taught that the *exegetai* were the collectors and the repository of local Athenian historical lore, and that about 380 B.C. someone whose name is lost wrote out for publication the main body of this history, thus giving the *Atthis* (of course in the singular) a more fixed form. Then in successive generations it was worked upon without changes sufficiently large to warrant the use of the plural. Jacoby sets forth in *extenso* the evidence on the *exegetai* (pp. 8-16), and concludes that their office was not such as to relate them specifically to historical activity; and that the Anonymus of 380 B.C. is not merely an hypothesis but a wrong hypothesis. Athenian local history was the creation probably of Hellanikos of Lesbos, whose work was published probably soon after 404/3 B.C. Local history, that is, was late; it did not precede and prepare for national and universal histories; on the contrary, Hellanikos was obliged to make use of varied and somewhat refractory material, and he had to do some athletic thinking. The rest date from ca. 350 to ca. 263/2, a series of Athenians, Kleidemos, Androtion, Phanodemos (all before 323), Demon, and Philochoros. There are no more names of real significance and there are probably none lost, thinks Jacoby.

So brief a summary does the book justice only in suggesting the drastic character of the changes proposed. Much work will be needed to test all that is involved. For instance J. H. Oliver's *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore 1950), appearing almost simultaneously, puts forward different and I think more convincing views about the *exegetai*. Oliver has that mastery over his main subject which Jacoby has attained over the *Atthidographers*—the *exegetai* being to Jacoby merely an obstacle to clear out of the way. As to the *Atthid-*

ographers themselves, it is hard to resist the impression that Jacoby is completely right. But one should not give the impression that the conclusions of such a study monopolize importance, weighty though they are. It is first of all the evidence which counts, and it is hard to imagine the day coming when any scholar concerned with early Athens, or any serious reader e.g. of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, can neglect Jacoby's masterpiece. *Atthis* is certainly one of the major works not of this generation only, but of this century, in Greek historiography.

STERLING DOW

Harvard University

"We See" (from p. 408)

SURVIVALS AND REVIVALS

gladitorial games of ancient Rome" as a "clue to the history of Rome" and apparently as a clue to some phase of present history as well.

The ancient abacus has been restored to use in the New York City schools "in a search for modern methods to make mathematics more meaningful," according to the *NEW YORK TIMES* (April 23). Articles in the April issue of *Curriculum and Materials*, the New York City board of education's monthly publication, "describe how the abacus, which is really a string of beads, and other devices are used to help 'the pupil make sense of what is being learned'." This item about how the educators have herein come full circle was clipped by Professor Levy.

E. E. Whiting's column in the *BOSTON SUNDAY HERALD* (March 4), on the theme that "time for reading may be found in tangled days that lie ahead," reminds the reader (in the words of a Radcliffe seminar announcement) that "... Some present or past knowledge of Latin is desirable" and that "the *Aeneid* is well worth the attention of adults." The column was clipped by J. K. Colby of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.

Col. Brady points out a portion of a review from the *NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE BOOK REVIEW* (Jan. 21) in which it is suggested of Richard's synopated translation of the *Iliad* (*The Wrath of Achilles*) that, just as "for many centuries Homer was known to Western culture only in the form of Latin prose summaries of the Troy story," so "it may be that the version

Mr. Richards has produced will enjoy a like currency in the Dark Ages which some people believe lie before us."

Prof. Levy sends proof from the *NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW* (April 15) that Homer in translation is a living reality to at least one mortal. We quote:

In Tennessee, a man bought a copy of the Mentor (35 cent) edition of "The Odyssey" and promptly sent a fan letter to the publishers. "Just read 'The Odyssey,'" he wrote, "and boy can that guy Homer write. Have you got any more by him?"

Finally Professor W. L. Carr of the University of Kentucky points out a tribute to the living significance of ancient thought which is to be found in the *SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE* (March 3) in an article by Peter Viereck entitled "The Decline and Immortality of Europe." Excerpts from Pericles' funeral oration are followed by this story and application:

During a small-town American political campaign it is said that the ghost-writer of one local politician, unable to write something new, simply handed his master the above speech of Pericles. Nothing was changed except the substitution of America for Greece and of the local town for Athens. The speaker was elected with acclaim. For the student of European history the important aspect of this anecdote is . . . the miraculous unbroken continuity of European and American history, which made it possible for the plagiarism to succeed twenty-five centuries later on a continent no Athenian had dreamt of.

ANIMAL LORE

The durability of certain ancient fables and bits of animal lore may in part arise from the fact that each generation seems to find anew the traditional characteristics in the beasts in question. Three news items from the past thirteen months bear this out with reports of a knife recovered in Polycratean fashion, of effective watch-dog geese, and of a fox that outwitted a crow (albeit in a rather heavy-jawed manner).

The first story was clipped from the *Toronto* (Ontario) *GLOBE AND MAIL* (April 12, 1950). The fire-chief of Sutton, Ontario, had lost his pocket knife through the ice on Lake Simcoe in January. At a Canadian Legion party on April 10 he identified the knife in the hands of an acquaintance who was using it to open a bottle. The acquaintance reported that he had recently been given a lake trout, and, "on cleaning it for supper,

(Turn to Cover III)

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found the knife lodged in the stomach of the fish." The fish had been caught near the place where the chief had lost his knife. W. A. Kirkwood, Professor Emeritus of Trinity College, University of Toronto, sent the clipping. (Cf. Herodotus 3, 42.)

Another Canadian story, found by Professor Latimer in the WASHINGTON POST (March 11, 1951), tells of a farmer near Cloverdale, B. C., who is using hybrid geese to guard his farm and children. "They're better protectors than any dog we ever had," says the owner. Livy (5, 47) gives no pedigree for the *anser* *sacri*; the Canadian farmer reports that his birds were produced by mating a Toulouse gander and a Saskatchewan wild goose. Professor Latimer thinks the ancestor of both kinds ought to be *anser caninus*.

Finally, from the JOLIET (ILL.) HERALD-NEWS (May 11), comes an Associated Press story from Bloomington, Ill., reporting that a farmer from nearby McLean had observed a kind of parallel to Aesop's successful fox (see Halm 204). The farmer had reported seeing a crow attack a mother fox while she was sunning herself with her young.

"The crow swooped down like a dive bomber several times. The vixen just lay there, nose in the air, not flinching. Then the crow dived too

close. The vixen jumped, jaws snapped, and it was all over. . . ."

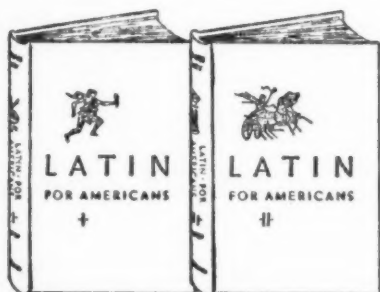
EPILOGUE

Now it is all over for this column in the hands of this compiler. The writer looks back upon a pleasant year spent in association with THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL and in the preparation of this column. The tasks have been many and sometimes have consumed more than their allotted share of time, but the faithful eyes of contributors have kept "We See by the Papers . . ." well supplied. Their efforts have been deeply appreciated—even though not everything sent has proved entirely suitable for use.

Despite the pleasures which go with the column, the present compiler feels obliged to reapportion his time, with a greater share devoted to his functions as Review Editor and a much greater share devoted to research projects which have suffered during the current year.

His successor has not yet been named, but the greatest possible favor to that successor would be for contributors to forward clippings temporarily to the Journal office so that a sheath of them can be handed to him when he takes over.

So, with the Mediaeval scribes, let it be said with some feeling: "*Liber explicit. Deo Gratias.*"



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